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ABSTRACT

This study examines school-to-work transition services, encompassing educational and occupational information and guidance, as well as job placement, induction, and follow-up. Section 1 provides an introduction to the study and the study's historical background. Section 2 concerns the organizational goals and forms of transition services. It uses a cross-country framework which draws on the experiences of Western Europe, Canada, the U.S., and other countries. Greatest emphasis is placed on the age group which enters work after lower or upper secondary education, but much of the discussion is equally applicable to young people's transition to work from other settings, including the armed forces, corrective institutions, residential health-care facilities, or other special environments. Similarly, transitions from one level or type of education to another are covered. In section 3, orientation and information, the components of national information programs are discussed. Guidance and counseling development are observed in section 4, especially in several European countries. Section 5 examines initial placement: job-search and job-finding methods. It contains a discussion of how job-finding methods differ depending on such variables as sex, age and educational level, type of handicap, and minority status. Section 6 contains placement outcomes, and section 7 explains induction programs, both theoretical and practical. References conclude the study. (CT)

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From Learning to Earning: A Transnational Comparison of Transition Services

R&D Monograph 63

U.S. Department of Labor
Ray Marshall, Secretary

Employment and Training Administration
Ernest G. Green
Assistant Secretary for Employment and Training
1979

This report is an abridged and edited version of *Bridges to Work: International Comparisons of Transition Services* by Dr. Beatrice G. Reubens of the Conservation of Human Resources Project, Columbia University. The interpretations or viewpoints presented herein do not necessarily represent the official position or policy of the Department of Labor.

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U.S. Department of Labor
Room 10225 Patrick Henry Building
601 D Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20213

FOREWORD

This monograph is an abridged and edited version of the book, Bridges to Work: International Comparisons of Transition Services,1/ by Dr. Beatrice G. Reubens of the Columbia University Conservation of Human Resources Project, done under Department of Labor grant No. 21-36-76-18. The monograph is designed to provide vocational guidance and counseling experts, school placement officials, CETA prime sponsors, and State and local offices of the Employment Service with a convenient summary of the material in Dr. Reubens' original study.

Developing international comparisons of the transition services for young persons from school to work, Dr. Reubens draws upon the experiences of Western Europe, Canada, Australia, the United States, and Japan in performing the following functions: orientation and information; guidance and counseling; initial job placement; induction to work; and follow-up of youth placed in jobs. She also contrasts the different labor market conditions prevailing in these countries in the 1960's and 1970's.

The comparative approach permits her to point out common and contrasting experiences of these nations as they have endeavored to ease their youth's transition from school to the labor market. The mixed, and sometimes disappointing, results of research and evaluation studies designed to monitor the effectiveness of these transition services is also examined. The resulting distillation of international experience should provide readers with an enlarged perspective on the school-to-work transition in the United States and elsewhere.

The present effort is the first of three transnational studies by Dr. Reubens; the others will deal with education and training practices and the youth labor market situation in developed nations. The monograph includes only those bibliographical citations which refer to the abridged text. For a more complete listing of references, the reader should consult the extensive bibliography in Dr. Reubens' original study.

HOWARD ROSEN
Director
Office of Research and
  Development

1/ Beatrice G. Reubens, Bridges to Work: International Comparisons of Transition Services, New York: Universe Books, and Montclair, New Jersey: Allenheld Osmun, 1977.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This study examines the school-to-work transition services, encompassing educational and occupational information and guidance, as well as job placement, induction, and follow-up.[1] It uses a cross-country framework which draws on the experience of Western Europe, Canada, the United States, Australia and Japan. Greatest emphasis is placed on the age group which enters work after lower or upper secondary education, but much of the discussion is equally applicable to young people's transition to work from other settings, including the armed forces, corrective institutions, residential health-care facilities or other special environments. Similarly, transitions from one level or type of education to another are covered.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: PHASES ONE AND TWO

Before World War I, so many children were employed in factories that social reformers were interested primarily in postponing the transition from home to work. By sponsoring free public education, they hoped to delay the inevitable drudgery in unhealthy shops and mines, a more repellent form of child labor than prevailed on the family farm. At that time, here designated as Phase One, the emphasis was on the evils of work and the virtues of school. Although pioneering transition services were established, early efforts focused primarily on prolonging compulsory education, referral to apprenticeship, and legal restrictions on children's work for health and safety reasons.

In the period between the world wars and especially after 1945, here called Phase Two, the situation changed. It became common for basic education to cover 15 or 16-year-olds, while mandatory or voluntary part-time education in several countries extended to young people up to age 18 who were already working. Child labor remained significant in some countries, especially in agriculture, but most younger people were in school.

Under these circumstances, the transition from school to work emerged as an independent arena for study and policy-making. Analysis and official action were most conspicuous in those industrialized countries where a great majority of the youngsters left school at the earliest legal time, where employers traditionally accepted responsibility for training young people, and where public intervention in social matters was relatively well accepted.

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[1] Later studies will provide cross-national comparisons of preparation for work and the structure and operation of youth labor markets.

A few major themes can be extracted from a review of the Phase Two literature. First, school is seen as a more sheltered and superior setting than work and as profoundly different from the job environment. Second, the school-to-work transition is often judged to be too swift and abrupt; stress, culture shock, and role discontinuity are discerned in the transfer from one to the other.

Third, vocational decisions made at this stage in an individual's life are assumed to shape the whole of his or her future career. This once-and-for-all view of the transition has special applicability in Japan, where the new entrant's connection with a particular firm may be a lifetime commitment.

These perceptions of the stresses and significance of the transition have not been entirely in accord with the opinions of young people themselves. Studies in several countries establish that many youngsters dislike school more than employment and move easily from classroom to workplace. Some comparisons of working youth with peers in school also found that the young workers were more socially mature, satisfied and successful, effecting an easier transition to adulthood as well as to work.2/ Not only is the transition for young school-leavers perhaps less stressful than the theorists claim, but its importance has also been challenged on the ground that the transition process, as such, exerts a relatively minor influence on future occupational success. More important are the effects of socio-economic class, family and home conditions, educational experience and attainment, and the school's role in channeling individuals into one or another type of curriculum and occupation.

PHASE THREE

Phase Two theories concerning the transition have also been called into question by the spread of Phase Three ideas from countries like the United States. Phase Three is distinguished by its focus on maturation and self-development, the learning and performance capabilities of the individual, the development of decision-making capacities, and growth in awareness of options. Shifting the emphasis away from the simple movement from school to work, this approach is not limited to school-leavers but extends to young people until they are 25 or more.

2/ John L. Bazalgette, Freedom, Authority and the Young Adult, (London: Pitmans), 1971; The Educational Needs of the 16-19 Age Group: Analytical Report, Council of Europe, Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education, Eighth Session, CME/VII (73)1 (Strasbourg: The Council) 1973, p. 18n; Council of Europe, Youth Participation: Critical Analysis (Strasbourg: The Council) 1969.

In addition, Phase Three is concerned with all aspects of the preparatory process and the limitations of the socio-economic structure. Phase Three perceptions of the transition arise from changes in both educational patterns and the youth labor market, new interpretations of the situation of youth, the increasing complexity of society, the wider range of choices open to youth, the new goals and standards established for youth and society, and the altered values, beliefs, and expectations of youth themselves. In the widened focus, transition problems are redefined, and attention is centered on the problems of those, usually a minority, whose transition is impaired by inadequacies in the preparatory, or faults in the employment, structure. While neither a repudiation of nor an about-face from Phase Two, Phase Three is based on the notion of variety and evolution in all the institutions and attitudes which affect the transition.

Among the changes in education which have most keenly affected perceptions of the move from school to work is the prolongation of formal studies. The line between the end of education and entry to the full-time labor market is also becoming less distinct as large numbers of young people hold vacation or part-time jobs, take work-study courses, return to education after a few years of work, or elect other combinations of schooling, training and work.

Greater attention has been directed to the transition problems of subgroups within the youth population. Influenced by the American war on poverty, an awareness of the needs of disadvantaged youth has taken hold elsewhere. In addition to those who do not achieve the minimum academic credentials, the disadvantaged include the physically and mentally handicapped, those with social or psychological inadequacies, members of ethnic, racial or cultural minorities, immigrants with language and cultural difficulties, and residents of rural, isolated and depressed areas. Their transition needs have assumed a new urgency in several countries.

Another discovery is that added years of education can intensify rather than ease transition problems, especially when the number of university graduates is excessive in terms of the supply of "appropriate" jobs. Prolonged education has also been attacked, especially in France and the United States, as an unwarranted and unhealthy extension of adolescence, particularly unsuitable in light of the earlier physical maturation of today's young people.

Recent labor market trends have encouraged further modifications of traditional views. For example, in most of the countries which had low and stable youth unemployment during the postwar period, youth unemployment rates began to rise relative to adult rates in the late 1960's and failed to return to the earlier ratios after each economic downturn. Many countries have been forced to abandon the comfortable assumption that entry jobs for youth would be plentiful most of the time, apart from the impact of recession.

In the United States as elsewhere, services have had an increasing share of employment as agriculture and manufacturing have declined absolutely or relatively. The result has been to eliminate a number of "youth" jobs as well as to limit employment opportunities in agriculture and manufacturing where many youth previously had found jobs. Some substitution of adults, especially women, for young workers has been fostered by the narrowing differential between youth and adult wage rates in many countries and the avowed preference of some employers for adults.

Theories of segmented labor markets have labeled as "secondary" the kinds of jobs the least-qualified young people tend to take,3/ leading in some cases to lifelong exclusion from the "good" jobs. The goal of transition efforts has therefore shifted from finding a place for each new labor market entrant to providing enough jobs in This aim, not yet widely accepted, may remain an academic concern so long as the number of job opportunities for young people is inadequate and even university graduates may not escape the secondary labor market in the first and early jobs.

Another ongoing change is the growing similarity of male and female work patterns. Although many young girls still believe and hope that they will not have to work for more than a few years, lifetime profiles indicate that large numbers will return to the labor market sooner or later, full-time or part-time, intermittently or permanently. At the same time, younger women increasingly seek jobs, especially at the higher occupational levels, previously held mainly by men.

In Phase Two thinking, a successful transition required that entrants take jobs which they kept for some time; job-changing, especially within the first year, was regarded as the mark of an unsuccessful transition. This doctrine, almost gospel in Japan, where lifetime attachment to the firm is the ideal, has less status in countries where Phase Three concepts prevail.

The United States has reached Phase Three, although the recent recession has revived some interest in Phase Two concepts. Over the long run, American research, theorizing and policy have been channeled away from the specific problems of the transition into wider consideration of personal development and socio-economic change. The perceived need to bring education and work closer together has also generated a new list of transition difficulties in which the isolation of in-school youth from adult pursuits and environments figures prominently. Reflecting the influential Coleman Report, this view of

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3/ Peter B. Doeringer and Michael B. Piore, Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis (Lexington: D.C. Heath) 1971.

alienated youth has been challenged by some investigators.[4] Despite a rhetoric which sometimes sounds as though all youth are in trouble, most analysts are concentrating on certain disadvantaged groups of youth and their transition problems.

It is also argued that a successful transition is essential not only for the individual concerned but for the society and the economy. Inadequate or misdirected transition services may lead to social and political disorder or to waste and misuse of human resources.

Many authorities, especially those who foresee shorter workweeks and longer retirement in the future, argue that the transition services must attempt more than the adjustment of young people into work roles--instead, they must also smooth the passage into every phase of adult life. In practice, the most common approach is to distinguish the school-to-work transition services from those dealing with personal development, although cooperative action is increasingly evident. The American career education movement treats paid and unpaid activities as "work" and regards everyone as having a "career." As discussed here, however, the transition services concentrate on the paid-work role.

* * * *

The three distinct phases identified above represent a somewhat idealized account of actual developments in the industrialized countries. In reality, no orderly progression from stage to stage is visible; at any time, overlapping, coexistence, skipping forward, and retrogression may be found in almost every country. Apart from the differences stemming from Phase Two to Phase Three orientation, a diverse subject matter is encompassed in analyses of the transition: individual development, economic and social problems, institutional relationships, or public programs. Psychologists, sociologists, educators, and labor market economists have their distinct professional perspectives. At the same time, there are important differences among nations in prevailing views, national style, the timing and rate of change, and historical background. It is also possible that some countries will develop few of the Phase Three problems or attitudes and will either remain at Phase Two or jump to some as yet unknown Phase Four.

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[4] James S. Coleman, ed., Youth-Transition to Adulthood (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) 1974; The Reform of Secondary Education: A Report to the Public and the Profession, National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education (New York: McGraw-Hill) 1973; M. Timpane et al., Youth Policy in Transition (Santa Monica, California: Rand Institute) 1976.

Finally, an appraisal of the transition services must acknowledge at the outset that they are not a nostrum for all the ills that plague youth in making their adjustment to the world of work. Useful as they may be for some purposes, the transition services have limited if any utility in a number of situations. By themselves, they cannot overcome or offset deficiencies in the structure or content of the educational system, differences among young people in the level and type of schooling achieved, or variations in their abilities, characteristics, and access to opportunity through background and connections. Nor can these services reduce restrictive entrance requirements or discriminatory hiring practices.

The transition services are also impotent to correct cyclical, structural, or seasonal shortages of jobs for youth, and it still is to be proved that they exert much influence on frictional joblessness. Similarly, the transition services are not capable of altering the behavior of young people who change jobs frequently, either because opportunities for advancement are plentiful or because they are confined to an unattractive secondary labor market. These youth are responding to valid information and will not be deterred by contrary official admonitions. Youth who are alienated, rebellious, nonconformist, resistant to adult authority, or indifferent to work may be unmoved by the transition services and need other types of social services.

The transition mechanisms operate most effectively when there is a fairly good balance between the supply and demand for youth in the labor market. The improvement or enlargement of the transition services is in no way a substitute for achieving satisfactory levels and types of demand relative to supply. It might be asked why public policy does not place its emphasis on altering the basic forces of demand and supply, rather than on changes in transition mechanisms. Perhaps it is the intractability of these basic forces and the limited capacity of public policy to alter the quantity and quality of youth jobs or job-seekers that lead to proposals for transition mechanisms as one of the remedies for more basic difficulties.

Disappointment is inevitable if reliance is placed on the transition services to perform inappropriate functions. Their competence is fairly limited, and they should not be called upon when other measures are required. Nor should they be judged by such indicators as high and persistent youth unemployment. The transition services have their own domain and, within it, a difficult enough task to provide services which make a difference to those who receive them.

II. TRANSITION SERVICES: ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS AND FORMS

The transition services--information, guidance, placement, induction, and followup--may be understood better if they are seen as part of a broader system of intermediary services which, in turn, is part of a still larger system of human services. Human services have been defined as a movement to assist "individuals to improve the quality of their lives in such areas as employment, health care, social security, education, welfare, and mental health."

INTERMEDIARY SERVICES

Intermediary services are provided by specialized persons or agencies which act as go-betweens, mediators, sources of information, advice or action, and perhaps even as advocates or agents. Those who provide intermediary services are part of the economy's service sector, which has been the fastest-growing source of employment in recent years.

A wide variety of professionals and subprofessionals are engaged in intermediary services. Subprofessionals not only relieve professionals of certain tasks but are able to relate to clients in ways that professionals may not be able to do. Advisors of every variety, social workers, therapists, psychologists, lawyers, judges, clergy, consumer advocates, placement officers, job developers, industrial relations arbitrators, and public officials are among the professionals.

Family, friends, community figures, and others also operate informally as intermediaries. Some of these sources are ineffective and uninformed, while others are in a position to offer assistance beyond that furnished by the formal intermediaries, public or private. It is the essence of the effective informal intermediaries that they should cater to a privileged minority, to those who may already have the best access to the formal intermediaries.

In the industrialized countries, the degree of dependence on the formal intermediary services differs among individuals according to their needs and their access to knowledgeable or influential sources. The formal intermediaries may be important as a potential counterweight to ill-informed or ineffective informal sources.

STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

Five stages are discernible in the development of intermediary and transition services. At the outset, the greatest emphasis is placed on inputs--number and type of personnel to be hired, number and location of offices, staff training, organizational structure, sources of occupational information, etc. As the program develops, quantitative outputs take center stage--in the transition services, it is the number of young people interviewed, the number of courses given or meetings held, the number of placements made, the ratio of personnel to clients.

A more advanced stage is reached when searching questions are raised about the qualifications and performance of the practitioners and disseminators. Are the services operating as they were intended? Are the guidance counselors giving directive or nondirective advice and which is preferable? Do the placement offices have good access to the community's job vacancies for youth? Have all the potential sources been drawn into active participation?

At the fourth stage, the reactions of the consumers and the public assume importance. What do pupils think of the career information they receive? Do they retain or use much of it in making career or occupational decisions? What are the employers' opinions of the services offered and of the young people they interview?

The final stage is achieved when the question is asked: what differences do these services make to individuals? What would happen if they did not exist? Are the options open to individuals wider than they otherwise would be? Are the expenditures justified by the results for individuals and society?

BRIDGING AGENCIES IN SELECTED NATIONS

In practice, countries vary in their degree of commitment to a comprehensive range of transition services. The state of the economy also strongly influences the type and amount of services provided.

Countries in which parents, community, employers, and trade unions take an active role in aiding young people in the transition process also tend to have a wider range and greater quantity of public transition services than other countries. Moreover, countries which have sharp class divisions and limited numbers in education beyond the compulsory level have a greater tendency to establish comprehensive transition services than countries which stress access to education and upward mobility. The goals and organizational patterns of the transition services in various countries are also influenced by the power and philosophy of the nation's educational establishment, the strength of an independent, psychologically-oriented guidance movement, the vitality of the employment and training institutions, and the nation's political institutions and style.

The range of transition services in each country influences the organizational forms adopted, and in turn the organizational structure affects the amount and kind of services and the effectiveness of the delivery system. It is inherently difficult to devise a comprehensive administrative structure which provides all of the transition services and satisfies the needs and interests of all concerned parties.

While most countries assume that the transition services must bridge the worlds of education and work, they do not agree that a distinctive and independent intermediary agency is required nor are they united on how the tasks of the transition should be shared among various agencies. Although educational institutions must be deeply involved in the initial stages of the transition, it does not follow that all or even the chief responsibility for information and guidance should be vested in the educational system, especially in individual schools, colleges, universities, or teachers and professors. The case against exclusive educational activity is even stronger for placement, induction, and follow-up services.

The arguments in favor of the educational institutions center on their proximity to and knowledge of pupils' interests and problems as well as on the essentially educational nature of the information-guidance functions. Other factors include the continuous and personalized assistance needed by young people from an early age, the interrelation of educational and occupational guidance, the need to influence educational policy, and the possibility of easy cooperation with other specialists on the educational team, such as school psychologists, health officers, welfare and social workers, and probation officers.

But in practice many countries find fault with the performance of the schools and they question the ability of teachers to serve as links to a world of work about which they know little. Further reasons to disqualify educational institutions from bearing the chief responsibility for the transition services are their understandable focus on first jobs, their exclusive orientation in some countries toward the next level of education, their inadequate relations with employers, their limited coverage of the labor market, and their weaknesses in induction, followup and further placements of unemployed youth.

Despite the deficiencies of the educational institutions, many nations continue to rely on them as the principal agency for the transition services. These countries, among them the United States, Canada, Switzerland, Belgium, and Italy, have difficulty in providing a balanced, comprehensive, and integrated transition program and are particularly weak in aspects which involve the labor market or relations with labor market institutions.

Several other countries--Great Britain, Japan, Sweden, and West Germany--have developed organizations outside the schools for dispensing transition services. While the full sweep of these services is not monopolized by a single administrative agency in any of these countries, all of them offer relatively integrated and comprehensive services.

Great Britain: Pioneer

Extending the efforts of voluntary organizations and teachers who traditionally accepted a pastoral role, Britain pioneered a public, nation-wide transition program for young school-leavers in the Labour Exchanges Act of 1909, which created special juvenile employment bureaus in the public labor exchanges. However, the 1909 act was opposed by both local education authorities, some of whom had already established similar bureaus, and the national Board of Education. These interests obtained passage of the Education (Choice of Employment) Act of 1910, which permitted each local education authority (LEA) in England and Wales to operate its own juvenile employment bureau.

While the dual system created a considerable potential for conflict and duplication, several significant principles were clarified very early. First, national policy established that every local area must offer transition services through the employment service or the LEA. Second, the transition services were not an ordinary part of education, but were offered by a bridging agency. Third, the conceptual framework, if not the actual practice, encompassed the full range of transition services. Fourth, a separate service was established for youth, leaving to other agencies those in postsecondary or higher education. Fifth, a disparity in the quantity and quality of services was permitted from area to area.

The Employment and Training Act of 1948 required all local education authorities to decide once and for all whether they wished to operate a Youth Employment Service (Y.E.S.) which would serve all young people under 18 or whether they wanted the Ministry of Labour to furnish the services. A great majority of the LEAs opted to provide the service themselves, thus covering 80 to 85 percent of the school population. A separate postwar phenomenon was the expansion in the number of classroom careers teachers, usually part-time, and still later the development of school counselors.

As attempts were begun in 1970 to restructure all the public employment and training services, a challenge arose to the continuation of the Y.E.S. in independence from the adult placement and guidance services. But entrenched interests and genuine convictions caused retention of a separate service for youth in the Employment and Training Act of 1973. It removed the old dual system, making the renamed

Careers Service a mandatory obligation for each LEA. The law also removed the previous age limit of 18, giving the Careers Service responsibility for leavers from all public educational institutions up to the higher education level.

The general understanding was that young people below university level would use the Careers Service before their first jobs and thereafter would be free either to return to the Careers Service or go to the adult guidance and employment service. However, there is nothing in the statute to prevent a young person from consulting the adult employment service on leaving school and, in fact this service has been aiding some youngsters in their first jobs. On the other side, an LEA can establish a guidance and placement service for its entire population, and some LEAS have already done so. Recent evidence indicates that the original objections to the separation of the adult and youth services have not been entirely overcome.5/

West Germany

West Germany's highly centralized program is directed by the chief labor market agency, the Federal Employment Institute which is national in authority and organization. However, the Federal Employment Institute is not a central government department, but rather a self-governing body representing employers, workers, and several levels of government. Subject to legal supervision by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, the Institute is financially and operationally independent, raising its funds through a payroll tax on employers and workers. The Institute has almost 700 State, local and special offices.

Possessing full powers over occupational guidance and placement, the Federal Employment Institute takes the leading role in the transition services, although educational information, guidance, and occupational orientation are increasingly being developed within the schools. Placement is a Federal Employment Institute monopoly, since the law bans private employment agencies and schools are forbidden to make job placements. The Institute's personnel can enter schools, obtain pupil records, interview pupils, and conduct activities in classrooms. Within the Institute and its branches, personnel are somewhat specialized by the clients' age and educational level.

5/ Young People and Work (London: Manpower Services Commission) May, 1977, paras. 1.14, 2.12.

More German youth are undertaking prolonged education, a trend which may detract from the central position of the Federal Employment Institute, whose orientation had been primarily toward those leaving school for jobs or for formal training programs offered by employers, such as apprenticeship. The present arrangement has the virtue, in a federal system of education, of offering a national service with reasonable uniformity of standards throughout the country.

Sweden

In Sweden, a new transition system which gives joint responsibility to the education and manpower agencies was introduced experimentally in 1973; in 1979, the entire system will be reviewed and evaluated. The SYO system (Education and Work Orientation) operates in the compulsory nine-year school and the upper secondary school. Within universities, a separate information-guidance organization exists, operating in close contact with the Labor Market Administration. In addition to its active participation in transition services for schools, the Labor Market Administration, through the employment service, has sole public responsibility for job placement of all age groups.

The guidelines for the SYO system provide for coordination and cooperation between the education and labor market authorities, as well as participation in planning by labor, employers, students, parents, counties, and local authorities.

At the national level, the Board of Education conducts overall planning, informs the schools about available information sources, and instructs them about the various forms of participation expected of school personnel. Also engaged in central planning, the Labor Market Board provides for the distribution of its informational materials in all media and informs its county and district offices. The Vocational Guidance Board, a national coordinating group which includes representatives of the Labor Market Board, Board of Education, Office of the Chancellor of the Universities, Federation of Local Authorities, and Federation of County Councils, considers matters requiring joint action, the basic and in-service training of SYO officers, and relationships with other authorities and organizations.

Assisting the Vocational Guidance Board is an Advisory Group consisting of representatives of organized employers, employees, students and parents, as well as representatives of the Vocational Guidance Board. The Advisory Group discusses the goals and organization of transition activities and stimulates the production of information by both private and public agencies. Finally, an Editorial Committee, appointed by the Vocational Guidance Board on the suggestion of the Advisory Group, gives technical and other advice to the producers of educational-occupational materials.

At the regional level, the pattern is repeated. Descending to the next level, the individual school plans and coordinates all local transition activities, holding a conference at the start of each school year attended by all relevant school and Labor Market Administration personnel. Under the supervision of the school headmaster, the SYO consultant is in charge of all local and school transition services, cooperating with local Labor Market personnel. This local coordination among agencies and individuals has several aims: to make SYO an integral part of total school activities; to facilitate cooperation between sending and receiving schools; to foster contacts between school and home; and to establish links between school and workplace. Central government subsidies for SYO personnel are based on the number of pupils in the various schools.

Thus far, the training and performance of the SYO consultants have not been entirely satisfactory to all concerned parties. It is felt that the decisions which pupils make about their specialized courses in the upper secondary school require the SYO consultants to possess more knowledge about the labor market in general and the specific occupations which will be followed by pupils entering the two-year vocationally-oriented course. The feeling persists in Sweden, as elsewhere, that those who operate the transition services in the schools are oriented more toward higher-level professional occupations than toward the types of jobs many pupils will obtain.

One of the distinctive features of the guidelines for Swedish SYO activities is the emphasis on the needs of disadvantaged youth and special provision for follow-up of such individuals. During compulsory schooling and through upper secondary education, those who are likely to be "at risk" are given special time and help. In addition to the physically and mentally handicapped, those "at risk" are the economically or socially disadvantaged, potential dropouts, the overage in grade, and grade repeaters.

Sweden's present system achieves a reasonable balance between labor market and education interests and in practice there is a higher degree of cooperation among the various interested parties than most countries can claim. The establishment of a system like the Swedish is predicated on good relations between a strong central government and competent local education authorities who accept direction on some subjects, are responsive to suggestions on other issues, and depart only slightly from a national norm.

Japan

Japan provides transition services in a variety of ways, but its labor market agency is outstanding in its supervision of the youth labor market and its cooperative arrangements with the educational system and individual schools. Japanese schools, organized and controlled nationally, are required to provide three distinct kinds of guidance to students--personal (including social and moral guidance), health, and (starting in the lower secondary schools) educational and vocational orientation and guidance. These tasks are entrusted to teachers who are partially freed of other duties.

By law, the public employment service (PESO) also has well-defined responsibilities for transition services to young people leaving educational institutions. In about 90 percent of the lower secondary schools, PESO usually takes chief responsibility. A second arrangement places school principals, in cooperation with PESO, in charge of transition services; over 60 percent of the upper secondary schools use this system. Finally, in a third of the upper secondary schools, and in almost all junior colleges, technical institutes, and universities, the heads of the schools are in complete charge, after notification of their transition programs to PESO. However, PESO provides occupational information at all educational levels.

PESO's annual program starts in April when the new term begins. Separate liaison conferences with the lower and upper secondary schools decide on the work plan for the year and the sharing of tasks. In connection with these conferences, PESO carries out educational programs for the teacher-counselors to familiarize them with labor market conditions. A major function is the provision of occupational information to the schools and individual pupils, as well as releases to the media. Individual and group guidance and tests are offered by PESO in the lower secondary schools.

For pupils leaving school in March, PESO makes estimates by the end of the preceding May of the numbers who will seek jobs. Based on these reports from schools, PESO informs employers of the numbers from various educational levels likely to apply and plans its placement service operations. PESO also collects job offers from employers, having acquired an unusual degree of control over this area because of the chronic shortage of young workers in the 1960s, the high value placed on new entrants by hiring firms, and a tradition of conformity among employers. In normal economic conditions, most leavers have prearranged jobs before school ends, having been escorted in groups by PESO to recruiting employers. After the initial job has been selected, PESO offers induction advice to the new entrants. Finally, there is an extensive post-employment guidance and vocational adjustment system. Especially for the lower secondary schools, the Japanese system is comprehensive and strongly based on participation by PESO. Individual schools and business firms have close relationships with schools serving as feeders.

III. ORIENTATION AND INFORMATION

No country is satisfied that its youth know enough about the work world, and young people frequently concur in this judgment, acknowledging that they sometimes make important educational and occupational decisions on impulse or by chance. As significant as the gaps in knowledge are the false and overglamorized images implanted by the media and the erroneous or limited ideas conveyed by peers, parents and relatives. While no segment of the youth population is free of these distortions, it is generally agreed that young people from disadvantaged backgrounds and minority groups have the greatest deficiencies of information and the least opportunity to obtain reliable data through informal sources.

WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES KNOWLEDGE OF THE WORK WORLD MAKE?

The assumption that those who have more occupational knowledge will be at an advantage in the labor market has rarely been tested empirically. Not only are there difficulties in devising suitable tests of knowledge, but it is also necessary to control carefully for other factors which may explain outcomes. There are additional issues concerning the number of times and the ages at which the tests should be given or the outcomes examined. Finally, the definition of desired outcomes is subject to debate. Are there independent differences according to the abilities and options of individuals? Should decision-making ability as such be separated from making "good" choices? And what standards should be applied to the latter? Is the world to be accepted exactly as it is and all nonconformity rated low? How are youth's own values, which may not place earnings in first place, to be reconciled with economic criteria? How are the constraints of the labor market to be related to assumptions about individual control over outcomes? Questions are more plentiful than answers, but evaluation efforts continue to flourish. Before turning to the results of these evaluations, however, it is necessary to describe some of the components and characteristics of national information programs existing in most of the developed countries.

COMPONENTS OF NATIONAL INFORMATION PROGRAMS

Orientation and information activities can encompass a wide variety of subjects. Without implying priorities or sequential order, a composite list would include:

- -- work ethics and values
- -- social and personal competences
- -- occupational implications of educational choices
- -- job characteristics and requirements
- -- occupational outlook
- -- psychosocial aspects of the work role
- -- social and economic insititutions.

Few countries have defined the tasks of the information program as broadly as the list above, although several try to conduct activities addressed to each subdivision. In every country, the elements of the program vary in accordance with the educational level, age, aspirations, and circumstances of the young people.

Work Ethic

Some countries regard instruction in the work ethic as part of the moral education or socialization function of the schools, and not as a separate aspect of the orientation and information activity. However, some American advocates of career education have emphasized the need for an explicit information activity which seeks to instill in youth a belief in the moral and material values of hard work and good performance and to counter youth's diminished interest in manual or menial jobs. 6/

Others question the old standards and wonder whether only the young people are at fault. They propose that the society, schools, and employers should alter their views and practices to adjust to the new values and expectations of youth. An American survey of recent college graduates identifies "an emerging work ethic" which demands "that work can and should be of greater value to society." 7/ The Swedish

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6/ Edwin L. Herr and Stanley H. Cramer, Conditions in Education Calling for Reform: An Analysis, Mongraphs on Career Education (Washington: U.S., Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education) 1975, pp. 32-4; Kenneth B. Hoyt et al., Career Education: What it is and how to do it, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Olympus) 1974, p. 69; Kenneth B. Hoyt, Career Education: Contribution to as Evolving Concept (Salt Lake City: Olympus) 1975, pp. 125-7.

7/ Youth and the Meaning of Work, Manpower Research Monograph No. 32 (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration) 1974, p. 5.

National Labor Market Board declares that the difficulties experienced by industry in recruiting young workers must be tackled in the long run through adjustments of the working environment to the new level of expectations which technology makes realizable. 8/

Social and Personal Competences

A second aim of orientation and information is to instruct young people about the personal and social behavior required to seek, obtain, and hold jobs. A Canadian educator reports that many graduates of community colleges in Ontario at age 19 or 20 "simply do not know, and must be taught, how to complete an application form or how to conduct themselves in an interview." British school-leavers who qualify academically for office or sales jobs may be denied them because of unfamiliarity with the use of the telephone, lack of the social graces, or unintelligible regional or class speech. A nationwide survey of U.S. 11th graders in 1973 found that 55 percent had never taken part in an actual or practice job interview. 9/

Some countries provide an impartial guide to all of the channels used in searching for jobs. An example is the "Bull's Eye" Series in Britain, especially the illustrated workbook for 14-to-16 year olds called "Finding a Job" which covers such items as replying to advertisements, filling in forms, entrance tests, and going for interviews. Sweden, however, has introduced guided visits to the local employment service in the 9th grade in the belief that all channels are not equally useful.

Beyond information of this sort, transition programs, implicitly accepting employer standards, may seek to influence pupils' behavior, habits, appearance, social manners, and speech patterns. As has been mentioned in connection with the work ethic, this effort should perhaps be less one-sided. Those who interview and hire young people also should receive information about the attitudes of the young on such issues as appearance, work relationships, and unwillingness to work overtime, weekends, or nights.

8/ Sweden, National Labour Market Board, Labour Market Policy, Budget Proposals for the Coming Fiscal Year, Stockholm, 1973, pp. 4-24.

9/ Problems of Employment for Graduates of Short-Cycle Higher Education in Canada, Meeting on Short Cycle Higher Education, DAS/EID 71.50 (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) October 1971, p. 11; Catherine Avent, "Careers Courses in Retrospect," Education, April 28, 1967; Dale J. Praediger, J. D. Roth, and R. J. Noeth, Nationwide Study of Student Career Development: Summary of Results, ACT Research Report, No. 61 (Iowa City: Research and Development Division, American College Testing Program) November 1973.

Educational-Occupational Choices

A greatly-increased demand for educational-occupational information has been generated by the postwar educational explosion, the arrival of mass upper-secondary education, the creation of the sizeable publicly-funded higher education sector with restricted entrance in some fields, frequent alterations in the structure of education, and a rapidly-changing labor market. In addition, many families lack prior experience with prolonged education and are unaware of the selection of occupations which can be entered. Together, these circumstances create a new demand, not only for educational-occupational information, but also for information about the financial costs and aid available, later opportunities to return to school, and alternate educational paths.

Educational-occupational information, no matter how good, is no substitute for a flexible educational system. However, in restrictive educational systems, a full informational program is all the more important. Young people in all types of educational systems can also benefit from full information about later opportunities for recurrent or lifetime education, including the occupational implications of such choices.

Job Characteristics and Requirements

Documentation about the characteristics and requirements of jobs is often seen as the core of occupational information. 10/ In countries like Japan, Great Britain, Germany and Switzerland, where employers regularly recruit young people from school, the specification of training and further education opportunities is a critical part of the job description. In addition, some youths seek guides to temporary, voluntary, or off-beat activities and occupations useful to those taking time off from education or rejecting conventional employment. These directories have appeared in several countries under offical and unofficial auspices.

Information about the conventional or preferred requirements for entrance to various jobs specifies basic educational preparation, previous experience or training, licensing, legal restrictions, hiring

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10/ Comprehensive descriptions include the following: job duties, the economic returns at given skill levels (starting pay, increases, peak and lifetime earnings) overtime possibilities, fringe benefits, pensions, hours, vacations, working conditions, safety, opportunities for training and promotion, hiring channels, related jobs, special tools and equipment, and costs to workers (tools, union membership).

practices, and preparation for promotion, especially within the firm. Another relevant kind of information may be obtained from an analysis of the traits of present workers or identification of the aptitudes, interests, abilities, physical qualities, and health which may be helpful in specific jobs.

Producers of information must make an important decision regarding content: Should they accept uncritically the educational and other requirements stipulated by employers, or should they list the actual qualities demanded by jobs, as determined by impartial analysis? Another central issue is the classification system to be used. The dictionary format, not well suited to information dissemination, is being superseded in most countries by other approaches, more in keeping with the needs of young people and their counselors.11/

Occupational Outlook

Whatever specific need there may be in various quarters for hard estimates of current job vacancies and future occupational trends, it can be argued that most young people do not require such detail, especially on a national basis. This is fortunate, given the poor track record of the forecasting profession and the recognized obstacles to making notable improvements. 12/

11/ Starting with its 1974-75 edition, the American Occupational Outlook Handbook groups jobs into 13 occupational clusters, renouncing its prior adherence to the census classification system. France's ONISEP (Office National d'Information sur les Enseignements et les Professions) classifies its fact sheets on individual occupations by a system permitting multiple listing of each occupation. Some examples of proposed categories are: 1) out-of-doors or sedentary; 2) rapid promotion possibilities, but very risky; 3) may experience rapid technological change; and 4) permits independent activity.

12/ Bashir Ahamad and Mark Blaug, eds., The Practice of Manpower Forecasting (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass) 1973; S. C. Kelley et al., Manpower Forecasting in the United States: An Evaluation of the State of the Art (Columbus: Ohio State University, Center for Human Resource Research) 1975; J. D. Mace and S. M. Taylor, "The Demand for Engineers in British Industry: Some Implications for Manpower Forecasting," British Journal of Industrial Relations, July 1975; Jahoda Freeman and Miles Freeman, eds., Progress and Problems in Social Forecasting (London: Social Science Research Council) 1976.

In the draft bill for Sweden's SYO program, a particular point was made that the unreliability of employment forecasts and other categorical statements about labor market developments should be conveyed to young people. Along different lines, an emphasis on job forecasts is opposed by those who prefer that young people make their occupational choices unaffected by information which seems to guide them according to labor market needs. Official vocational guidance services in many countries debate this issue, and some pay little attention to employment forecasts.

If precise national forecasts are not necessary, it does not follow that future trends should be ignored or that young people should not be referred to all of the sources, if they are interested. Even with adverse information, however, many young people operate on a lottery principle, hoping that they will be the fortunate ones to gain a foothold in crowded occupations.

A somewhat different case can be made for developing and disseminating local occupational information and projections, since young people generally wish to remain in their home communities. American critics fault career education and information efforts which are not solidly based on high quality local labor market information. 13/ In other countries where the transition services are more highly developed than they are in the United States, the sense of local conditions and changes is keener, and there is less clamor for national forecasts to serve as the basis for local data.

Psychosocial Aspects

Some critics of occupational information find an excessive concern with economic factors to the neglect of the pyschosocial aspects of jobs. The latter encompass a large number of items: the potential for work adjustment and satisfaction, the ability to cope with large-scale organizations, the capacity to express values and attitudes, the social prestige of different occupations, the nature of occupational status and roles, realistic work expectations, interactions with others, authority and decision-making, acceptance of supervision, lifestyle in and out of work, etc.

13/ Barry E. Stern, "Evaluators' Logic vs. Common Sense," Paper presented at the Second National Career Education Forum, Washington, February 1976, pp. 2, 5-6.

The nature of the workplace is a related subject. Information which focuses on occupations may slight the relative advantages and disadvantages of firms of various sizes and types. Since young people in many countries prefer jobs in small firms, especially those located close to home, the adverse features of family-owned businesses and small firms should be detailed in information material covering the physical environment, health and safety, management practices, training and promotion opportunities, operations of an internal labor market, and other relevant factors. This is a neglected subject, not least because such information about the work environment runs the risk of offending employers.

Even more neglected is the preparation of young people for the possibility that they will be unemployed either on entering the full-time labor market or in their early work years. Omission of this subject has led to later angry or pained reactions from unemployed new entrants.

Social and Economic Institutions

Information concerning social and economic insitutions deals with such subjects as labor laws, trade union organization and operations, labor relations, contracts, methods of wage payment, deductions, income tax systems, money management, insurance, labor market agencies, and local government. Classroom activities, visits from outside experts, and study trips to local institutions are the methods used in this field.

DIFFERENTIATION OF SERVICES

What kinds of differentiated information services should be offered on the basis of observed differences in the characteristics and needs of young people? Among the recognized distinctions are those of: age; educational level; socioeconomic status; racial, ethnic, or national origin; physical or mental handicaps; sex; and place of residence. Youth leaving military service, prisons, or other institutional settings may also benefit from differentiated services.

Most countries now identify special groups as targets for more intensive efforts on the part of the official programs. In addition, it has become clear that the transition services for disadvantaged groups must often be reinforced by social interventions.

An initial decision must be made about the age when orientation and information programs on the world of work should begin. In Europe such instruction generally begins before the final year of compulsory education, that is before age 14 or 15, but most authorities in those countries would be satisfied if programs were pushed back to the 12 and 13 year-old group, since studies of the occupational perceptions of younger children suggest that they are not ready to respond realistically to information concerning occupational differences. A very different position is taken by the American Career Education movement which urges that programs begin in kindergarten and continue regularly thereafter.

In orientation and information program, those who are expected to seek jobs immediately after compulsory lower secondary school are treated differently in most European countries, Australia, and Japan. While these countries may provide more and sometimes better services for young school leavers than for other young people, their information services may tend to concentrate on a limited range of jobs and neglect information concerning the next level of education or future possibilities of returning to school.

Questioning the accuracy and relevance of academic ability classifications for occupational destinations, some authorities would prefer transition programs to avoid ability groupings and keep educational options open as long as possible. One reason to concentrate information services on the less able, however, is the evidence that those who are above average in academic ability voluntarily engage in information activities, such as reading careers literature or consulting careers libraries, and that they also have more access to influential people outside of school.

Another issue, more rarely discussed in the United States and Canada than elsewhere, concerns the information needs of the minority of working-class youth who go on to higher education. One of the essential tasks of an information program is to expand the horizons of such youth, since there is evidence that graduates from working class or minority backgrounds tend to enter more familiar, less prestigious and less well-paid jobs than their fellow students from more affluent backgrounds.14/

14/ Nicola Cherry, "Occupational Values and Employment: A Follow-up Study of Graduate Men and Women," Higher Education, No. 4, 1975; R. K. Kelsall, Graduates: The Sociology of an Elite (London: Methuen) 1972; R. Morton-Williams, Undergraduate Attitudes to School Teaching as a Career. The Social Survey (London: HMSO) 1966; David Gottlieb, Youth and the Meaning of Work (University Park: Institute for the Study of Human Development, Pennsylvania State University) February 1973; Robert A. Ellis and Clayton W. Lane, "Social Mobility and Career Orientation," Sociology and Social Research, April 1966.

Concern about labor market information for minority group youth has taken different forms in the few countries where a problem is seen. The American inclination is to assign all Indian, black, and Hispanic youth to a disadvantaged category. Other countries tend to look at individual cases rather than whole groups. Immigrant children distinguished by language difficulties, unfamiliarity with local insitutions, and conflicting pressures from the family and the new society are generally defined as disadvantaged and in need of special assistance, although race as such is discounted.

Those countries classifying entire groups as disadvantaged tend to emphasize a widening of options, upward mobility, and proportionate participation in higher education and prestigious employment. More modest performance objectives are held in countries where individuals are singled out as disadvantaged. If they can be brought to roughly the standard of their own group, the remedial action may be considered successful.

Whatever the diversity of opinion about the definition of disadvantaged young people, general agreement prevails that physically- and mentally-handicapped youngsters, particularly those in special schools, require an intensification of ordinary information activities. But they need, at the same time, many additional services and coordinated programs, as well as outreach measures which link social and manpower services, contacts with the home, work preparation, and work with employers. The transition services, even in intensified form, are not sufficient by themselves to ease the difficult entry to work for this group. But an education system which limits itself to special schooling, providing little or no help toward the transition to work, is doubly deficient. Nowhere is provision for this group entirely adequate, but Holland and the Scandinavian countries are in advance of the others. 15/

15/ "Special Schools-Right or Wrong," Sweden Now, Stockholm, September 1969.

British activities and proposals for improvement of the transition services for this group are also notable, including special work preparation services offered at the Employment Rehabilitation Centres.[16]

Clearly one of the liveliest issues for the transition services is the mounting pressure to eliminate sex stereotyping of educational and occupational information. In most countries, the emphasis is placed on informing and encouraging girls to consider educational, training, and employment options usually regarded as male preserves.

In the countries included in this study, however, most young women, especially those who leave school early, do not plan on a long or permanent commitment to the labor force. An important task of an information service, therefore, is to alert girls about to leave school that they are likely to spend more of their lives than they estimate in jobs and that they should be more selective about their occupations. Simultaneously, employers must widen training and employment opportunities for females in accord with current public opinion and legal provisions for equal employment opportunity.

Rural youth have special needs for information because of limited choices at home and distance from educational and employment opportunities. Rural areas tend to have inferior information services, so that special reinforcement is required; also needed are programs for young rural-to-urban migrants, including reception centers, housing, community welfare and recreation organizations, and followup services. Japan and France have paid particular attention to these needs. A few countries have also begun to think of inner-city populations as needing additional information because of the mismatch between locally-available jobs and personal qualifications.

16/ Linda Tuckey *et al*. *Handicapped School-leavers*. *Their Further Education, Training and Employment*, A National Children's Bureau Report (Windsor: NFER Publishing Co.) 1973; Great Britain, Department of Education and Science, *Careers Education in Secondary Schools*, Educational Survey No. 18 (London: HMSO) 1973, pp. 37-47, 69; *New Society* (London: New Science Publications); September 27, 1973, pp. 764-65 and March 21, 1974, pp. 698-701; Great Britain, Manpower Services Commission, *Young People and Work*, London, May 1977, pp. 34-35; Great Britain, Department of Employment, *Gazette* (London: HMSO), August 1977, pp. 803-5.

METHODS AND MEDIA

The current emphasis in some countries is on experimental and novel methods, especially those involving audiovisual aids, simulations, games, role-playing, group dynamics, and multimedia approaches which combine information and guidance. Technology also occupies a prominent place in a few countries, with particular emphasis on the computer.

As efforts to provide information have multiplied and the use of computers has spread, more interest has been shown in creating career resource centers within schools as well as in other centers. Here the collection, distribution, and the use of information materials can be centralized, and the consistency and reliability of information can be controlled. Such control is an important function where diverse and unofficial sources contribute large amounts of information. One of the most ambitious attempts in this regard is the Career-Information System in Oregon, which has taken as its clientele the entire labor force of the State. It has even set up a Manpower Information Clearinghouse to aid program planners for education and training and an Occupational Information Access System for young people.

Printed information materials, talks by teachers and invited guests, and audiovisual methods still predominate in terms of frequency of use over the newer forms and the centralized distribution centers. Such traditional methods as careers libraries, special curriculum courses, career days or conventions, and direct exposure to work situations also hold an important place.

In New York State in 1966-67, a sample survey among counselors in secondary schools and two-year colleges and among administrators in occupational education found that each group ranked printed materials first, in terms of both actual use and inherent usefulness. However, there was some evidence that curriculum courses, work exposure, group conferences, and other forms were more valued than used. In a Swedish study of upper secondary school pupils aged 17 to 18 years, it was disclosed that the great majority (71 percent) had not consulted the school's career library before a course on educational and occupational information and that only 45 percent did so afterwards. The British survey of secondary schools in 1971-72 showed that the various forms of curricular and extracurricular information activities were well represented, although little use was made of film strips or slides and available, highly-rated radio programs.

One of the most popular forms in Britain is the curriculum course on occupations. According to the 1971-72 survey, 70 percent of the secondary schools offered some such course, about equally divided between special courses for school-leavers and courses for other pupils. 17/

An area which cannot be measured eaily is theintroduction of educational-occupational information into classroom subjects. The national survey in Britain in 1971-72 found that more than half of the comprehensive secondary schools, but only 20 percent of the selective schools claimed to do this. A nationwide survey of 11th graders in the United States in 1973 reported that almost half of the pupils had several classroom discussions of jobs related to the study subject, while 30 percent had one or two such occasions. 18/

Criticizing the highly academic content of the curriculum in French schools, the trade unions among others have called for the redesign of courses so that pupils can be taught about the world they will enter--the structures, trends, institutions, and basic economy of the work world, and the content of trades and occupations. In Sweden and other Scandinavian countries, world of work information has been included in the teaching of various subjects, especially social studies and civics.

Collections of reference material or careers libraries remain a significant source of information. A nationwide Canadian Study in 1965 discovered that over 85 percent of high school students knew whether or not there was a place in the school where occupational literature was available and that about 40 percent had actually used the collection. Among American 11th graders in 1973, 60 percent said that they had read at least one job description in the school library or guidance office. However, another U.S. survey of 10th, 11th, and 12th graders in 1973 found that the school library was ranked very low as a source of information on jobs or careers.

Workplace visits, usually of no more than one day, have been a common information activity. Forty-two percent of a national sample of 11th graders in the United States declared that they had taken one or two tours through a local industry, business, hospital, or office to observe jobs, while 23 percent more had taken such tours several times. The survey in 1971 of British secondary schools indicated that

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17/ Great Britain, Department of Education and Science, Careers Education in Secondary Schools, Educational Survey No. 18 (London: HMSO) 1973, pp. 7-10, 25, 57.

18/ Dale J. Prediger et al., op. cit., Table 10; J. Mezzano, "A Survey of the Teaching of Occupations," Vocational Guidance Quarterly, February 1969.

26 percent of the schools arranged for all pupils to make work visits and 69 percent provided for some of their pupils. The difficulty of organizing such visits so that they make a substantial contribution to the acquisition of occupational information has led to some opposition or coolness on the part of schools, employers, trade unions, and individual experts in Great Britain.

Work sampling or organized work experience can be an important information activity, either in a concentrated block or spread over the year. Defined as an unpaid, closely supervised activity, work sampling is designed to assist pupils, usually in the last years of compulsory education, to make further educational and occupational choices, as well as to gain knowledge of the broader work world. A case is made, especially in the United States, for introducing young people from minority, low income, or other disadvantaged backgrounds to occupations which they might otherwise consider beyond their reach. Employers who are doubtful about employing the disadvantaged may change their views through the work sampling experience. Work sampling can also be used to expose boys and girls to jobs typically considered the province of the opposite sex.

Work sampling is compulsory or universal in several Scandinavian countries and is widely used in other northern European countries. In Sweden, where the form is called PRYO and is highly developed, work experience complements curricular instruction about the world of work. PRYO offers direct exploration at the workplace in the eighth and ninth grades (14 to 16 year olds) of the comprehensive school and is to become a feature of upper secondary school as well. Handicapped pupils participate in PRYO, but are covered by special facilitating and protective provisions. Since PRYO has the goal of fostering a critical attitude and capacity for independent assessment, pupils are expected to ask probing questions about social relations at the workplace, the values of different groups, aims of activities, pay differentials, occupational status, superior-subordinate relations, sex roles, and so forth.

The first visit is used to demonstrate how a workplace functions as a society in miniature. Pupils observe such things as the production flow, physical work environment, and social relations in the enterprise. During the second visit, students concentrate on studying individual employers, possibly performing some work tasks. Job content, employment conditions, wages, labor relations, and the union situation are examined. In the third study visit, the object is to provide direct preparation for the PRYO choice in the ninth grade, and to offer a general survey of the labor market and occupational trends.

During the first half of the ninth grade, each pupil spends two weeks at one or two workplaces, preferably rotating among several jobs, testing his or her aptitudes and adaptability to specific work conditions; work sampling and other orientation activities are also intended to aid in the choice of a specialized course in the upper secondary school.

Launched by the National Institute of Education in four high schools and projected to spread to at least one school in each of 42 States in 1976, an American experiment called Experience-Based Career Education (EBCE) is a new form which combines work sampling for information and guidance purposes with alternative learning settings and styles. Choosing from among 20 broad career interest areas, the students' exploratory phase consists of working for one or two days a week at a variety of nonpaid jobs for 12 weeks. After that, either another exploration area or a specialized 12-week work plan, also nonpaid, may be chosen. Some students continue on individual projects after their specialization period ends.

As valuable as this type of intensive activity may be for those few who experience it, a major issue is the feasibility of obtaining enough employer participation to extend its range. If each pupil were exposed for a more limited time period, perhaps three weeks, this type of program might usefully enroll all American school youth, serving the same functions as the Swedish PRYO system.

ORGANIZATION

One of the major developments of recent years, visible in several countries, has been a degree of centralization and unification, such as already exists in Germany and Japan, of the offical production of career information for youth. ONISEP (Office National d'Information sur les Enseignements et les Professions), established in 1970 as part of the French Ministry of Education, is a move in this direction, as is the Swedish SYO program described earlier.

In Great Britain, as a result of the Employment and Training Act of 1973, a merger between the extensive youth information activities of the Central Youth Employment Executive (CYEE) and the sparse, underdeveloped information activity for adults has produced the Careers and Occupational Information Centre (COIC) of the Employment Services Agency. Another major official effort in Britain is the Careers Education and Guidance Project of the Schools Council which is testing materials for use in classrooms.

American initiatives were taken recently under the impact of Congressional requests for a comprehensive manpower information system. In August 1975, representatives of the most concerned Federal agencies--the Employment and Training Administration and the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Department of Labor, and the Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare--signed an agreement to establish the national leadership essential to coordinate legislatively-mandated activities related to occupational manpower information.

A second American approach has been to establish a National Occupational Information Service (NOIS) in the Employment and Training Administration of the Department of Labor. Instead of launching a central government effort, in 1975 NOIS began a pilot program of grants to eight States to enable them to develop exemplary information systems, based on national guidelines and standards. The grants, averaging $300,000 in the first year, will continue for three to four years at gradually declining amounts for development costs, with State and local governments and schools bearing information delivery or equipment costs from the outset. Rather than create new raw data, NOIS seeks improvement of the information base through incorporation and dissemination of existing local data and the training of competent local personnel.

EVALUATION STUDIES

If society devotes resources to efforts to increase the knowledge young people have about the world of work, there is a natural inclination to ask whether these efforts produce greater knowledge and, as a direct consequence, other benefits to the individual and society. Negative evaluations do not automatically mean that the idea of induced information is itself invalid, however. Evaluation efforts, properly conducted, can reveal poorly conceived or executed programs and lead to improved procedures.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to draw meaningful and consistent conclusions from existing evaluation studies. An information program about the world of work addresses an audience which has unconsciously absorbed values, points of view, information and misinformation on the subject before the formal instruction. Several studies have confirmed the existence of a counterculture of resistant or unresponsive people who "distort the information they are given or do not take in what they do not want to hear, and . . . /are/ attracted or repelled by features of jobs and job images of which they are unaware."19/ And there are those who "don't even want adults to tell them what the options are; they want to find out for themselves." 20/ Nor are the adult

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19/ Peter P. Daws, A Good Start in Life (Cambridge: Careers Research and Advisory Centre-CRAC) 1972, p. 6; Michael P. Carter, Into Work (Baltimore: Penguin Books) 1966, pp. 68-72; New Society (London: New Science Publications) March 21, 1974, pp. 698-701; Oswald Hall and Bruce McFarlane, Transition from School to Work, Interdepartmental Skilled Manpower Training Research Committee, Report No. 10 (Ottawa, Canada: Department of Labour) December 1962, p. 68; Jean Rousselet, "Nouvelles attitudes de la jeunesse face au travail," Communication à l'Academie de sciences morales et politiques, Paris 1971; Jean Rousselet et al., "L'idée de travail, de réussite et d'échec chez des jeunes de milieux scolaires et sociaux différents," Cahiers du centre d'études de l'emploi, No. 7 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France), 1975.

20/ The New York Times, Education Review, January 9, 1975.

authorities in agreement about the content or purposes of the instruction. Finally, the information programs are sometimes asked to justify themselves in terms of their influence on longer-run outcomes which are difficult to define and measure. In these circumstances it is not surprising that resort to less stringent evaluation procedures characterizes some of the discussion. Still, what do consumers, disseminators, and others have to say?

A local Canadian study reported that the Occupations and Work course had made little or no impression on early school-leavers, most of whom could not recall having taken it a few years later. Over one-third of American high school seniors in a national survey in 1966 reported that the kind of information they wanted and needed was not readily available in their schools; rural schools were particularly deficient. Two-thirds of the young people in Ohio who took an experimental manpower economics course did not feel it had influenced their behavior, experience, or success. 21/

On the other hand, work visits and "a carefully prepared course with all available information" received high marks from American high school students in a 1973 poll of their preferred method of receiving career assistance at school. The same group, rating the methods of disseminating occupational information actually in use in their schools, gave first place to career files or occupational libraries and lower ratings to TV or film series and microfilm readers. In a more limited investigation, Thal-Larsen and Parrish discovered that students preferred direct contact with work situations above all other information methods, and that they rated slides, film strips, movies, and television at the bottom of the scale, lower than books and pamphlets. 22/

21/ Oswald Hall and Bruce McFarlane, op.cit., p. 68; Robert E. Campbell, Vocational Guidence in Secondary Education (Columbus: Center for Vocational and Technical Education, The Ohio State University) 1968, p. 56; L. Darcy et al., Manpower Economic Education and the Transition from School to Work: Impact on a Cohort of Ohio Secondary School Students (Fort Collins, Colorado: Colorado State University Center for Economic Education) February 1976, p. 8.

22/ Sources of Information for Career Decisions, Purdue Opinion Panel Poll No. 98 (West Lafayettee, Indiana: Purdue University Measurement and Research Center) 1973, pp. 3a, 9a; Margaret Thal-Larsen and Gerald R. Parrish, Career Guidance for Science Students: Systems, Practices and Data Base (Washington: National Science Foundation) 1975, pp. 35-7.

A small-scale British survey ranked books and pamphlets as the least valuable method of dispensing information and showed that only half of the young people who had access to a full-time careers teacher found this source useful.[23] A Swedish survey undertaken before the SYO program was instituted indicated that a large majority of upper secondary students in the three-year course (the most usual route to university) believed that they had been given inadequate information about the possibilities and characteristics of the various educational and work possibilities open to them. On the other hand, two later Swedish inquiries, one in ninth grade and an exhaustive one in 11th grade, obtained mostly favorable opinions of the SYO program of educational-occupational information and the various media in use.[24]

The survey of 11th graders threw light on the immediate influence of an information program on career aims. Identical questions on career decisions, asked before and after pupils took the SYO program of educational-occupational information, reveal that the undecided group was reduced. The proportion saying they were undecided about pursuing additional education also declined after the course, as did uncertainty about the type of course and the chances of qualifying for it. Of course, the passage of time is in itself a factor in the reduction of uncertainty. At another point, the pupils were asked directly whether the SYO information program had influenced their decision on what to do after school. Some 46 percent said "not at all" and 11 percent did not answer, leaving a minority to acknowledge varying degrees of help.[25]

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[23] Richard Gormley and Mary Wallis-Jones, "First Jobs," New Society, July 20, 1972, p. 134; Careers Quarterly, vol. 26, No. 2, p. 37.

[24] Lennart Elg, Kreativitet och Högre Studier II: Val av utbildning efter gymnasiet, Örebroprojektet, (Stockholm: Psykologiska institutionen, Stockholm University) June 1972, pp. 30-31, 33; Sweden, National Board of Education, "Informationsprocessen i SYO under Årskurs 9," Studieval-Arbetsmarknad, Konferensmaterial, Stockholm, June 1973, pp. 1-10; Sweden, National Board of Education, Utprövningsresultat av försöksmaterialet i Studieoch Yrkesorientering, Rapport 2, Stockholm, September 1973.

[25] Utprovningsresultat av forsoksmaterialet i Studieoch Yrkesorientering, op. cit., pp. 33-5, 37, 40-45, 48-52, 54-61, 64-9.

On the usefulness of work visits, a poll of Swedish pupils (15 to 16 years old) and their teacher-counselors reveals a high opinion of the three study visits to work places in eighth grade as sources of occupational information. Work experience earned the approval of nearly all who took part in local British projects and they judged it an aid to decision-making on careers. But another British inquiry, conducted some years after the event, which asked about a short period of work experience for sixth-form pupils in inner London schools revealed that work experience had not been useful to the choice of a career, although a majority of the respondents endorsed this type of activity.26/

Turning to a more general measure of consumer opinion, the views of young people on the value of the official information sources can be compared with their appraisal of other sources of information. A comprehensive Swedish opinion survey in 1972-73 among upper secondary school pupils (17 to 18 years old), divided into a control and an experimental group, asked whom they consulted first when they wanted educational-occupational information. Both before and after the experimental group was given a program of educational-occupational orientation at school, a resounding 91 percent chose offical sources. The effect of the SYO course was to almost double the proportion (34 percent to 63 percent) selecting the SYO consultant as first choice, while decreasing the proportion seeking information from teachers or headmasters or the local employment service office.27/

26/ Bjorn Allergren, *Elevers, handledares och yrkesvalslarares erfarenheter av pryoperioden i Grundskolans Högstadium*, Pedagogiska Rapporter Ūmea, No. 46 (Ūmea, Sweden: Universitet och Lärarhösgskolan i Ūmea) 1974; __________, *Kartlagnning av obligatoriska Studiebesök och pryoval i Grundskolans Högstadium*, Pedagogiska Rapporter Ūmea, No. 36 (Ūmea, Sweden: Universitet och Lärärhogskolan i Ūmea) 1973; *Work Experience in British Secondary Schools* (Bromsgrove, U. K.: Institute of Careers Officers) revised ed., 1974, p. 14; David M. Carmichael, "Work Experience," *Careers Quarterly*, No. 1, 1976, p. 32; Catherine Avent, "Careers Courses in Retrospect," *op. cit*.

27/ *Utprövningsresultat av försöksmaterialet i Studieoch Yrkesorientering*, *op. cit*., pp. 37, 69, 70.

These results from a country with a comprehensive and strong information program were not matched in countries with less pervasive or developed programs. But, even among the latter, differences occurred. Recent national and local British studies suggest that pupils, especially the early leavers, give the official sources relatively more credit for providing significant occupational information than is true in the United States. As several studies indicated, American youth have looked to parents and friends rather than to teachers and counselors for information.[28]

A final measure of consumer satisfaction with information services is obtained by asking how well-informed the young people feel. American findings indicate that a majority of young people were not satisfied that they possessed enough information about the occupational world, whatever the source. A Canadian questionnaire, answered in 1965 by a large and representative sample of high school students across the country, reveals that about half of those in grades 8 through 13 (chiefly grades 9 through 12) felt very well- or quite well-informed about the different kinds of jobs they could get to make a good choice about their future career. The percentage of the satisfied rose with each grade, varied from province to province, and was higher for girls than boys from the 10th grade on. An

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[28] Lois-Ellin Datta, "Improved Labor Market Information and Career Choice: Issues in Program Evaluation," In Seymour L. Wo[illegible]bein, ed., Labor Market Information for Youths (Philadelphia: Temple University, School of Business Administration) 1975, p. 129; Margaret Thal-Larsen and Gerald R. Parrish, op. cit.; Roger Thomas and Diana Wetherell, Looking Forward to Work, Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (London: HMSO) 1974, Table 9.12; Sources of Information for Career Decisions, op. cit., pp. 5a, 7a, 15; Rudolf Manstetten, Das Berufsberatungsgesprach (Trier: Spee) 1975; Young School-Leavers at Work and College, A Research Report from the National Survey, Final to the Social Science Research Council (London School of Economics, Medical Research Council) May 1971, mimeo., Table IV; Susan Hale, The Idle Hill (London: Bedford Square Press) 1971, pp. 20-1.

Australian survey among school leavers, on the other hand, showed 38 percent dissatisfied with their knowledge of career opportunities and their own potential.[29] It requires further analysis to determine whether the amount and quality of official activity in the various nations is related to the degree of satisfaction youth display.

Another obvious evaluator of information activities is the expert or disseminator whose close observation or participation encourages the passing of judgements. Available statements confirm what was already well established, namely, that dissatisfaction with performance is endemic to the transition services and that proposals for more and better services are universal. Some of the views are revealing regarding the state of the art in a particular area. Teachers of occupational information in Los Angeles high schools largely attended by blacks and Chicanos rate these 10th grade classes low in effectiveness in conveying useful career and labor market information.[30] After a painstaking investigation of schools and junior colleges in the San Francisco Bay area, Thal-Larsen concluded that over the decade of the 1960s, the schools, especially the public high schools, had made little progress in "better preparing their students for the realities of the labor market."[31]

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[29] New Society, May 20, 1976, pp. 407-10; Raymond Breton and John C. McDonald, Career Decisions of Candian Youth, Vol. 1, (Ottawa: Department of Manpower and Immigration) 1967, pp. 42-4, Tables 115, 116; Australia, Commonwealth Department of Education, "Transition from School to Work or Further Study," A background paper for an OECD review of Australian Education Policy (Canberra) 1976, para. 2.140.

[30] Paul Bullock, Youth in the Labor Market: Employment Patterns and Career Aspirations in Watts and East Los Angeles (Los Angeles: Manpower Research Center, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California at Los Angeles) 1972, p. 62.

[31] Margaret Thal-Larsen, Placement and Counseling in a Changing Labor Market: Public and Private Employment Agencies and Schools (Berkeley: Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California at Berkeley) August 1970, pp. 26-7.

Formal evaluations are concerned, in the first instance, with the impact of deliberate instruction on levels of knowledge about the world of work. Many analysts ignore the official information services in accounting for youth's knowledge of the world of work. There are in fact manifest difficulties in testing this type of knowledge or drawing conclusions from the results, all of which apply also to induced information. Nevertheless, attempts have been made to judge the effects of information services, either by the use of control and experimental groups or by before-and-after tests.

Summarizing research on the teaching of occupational information in the secondary schools, Hayes and Hopson reported that courses increased the ability of students to answer questions about jobs anywhere from 0 to 217 percent.32/ The periodic reviews of American research on the teaching of occupations predominantly confirmed the view that those who received occupational information services have had higher test scores than those who did not, in the short run at least.33/ But, in a longitudinal follow-up study on a small sample of junior high school pupils in Ohio, Darcy and colleagues discovered that the short-run knowledge advantages eroded during the high school years and that, eight months after graduation, knowledge levels of experimental and control groups did not differ significantly. 34/

32/John Hayes and Barrie Hopson, Careers Guidance: The Role of the School in Vocational Development (London: Heinemann) 1971, ch. 11; Barrie Hopson, The Effectiveness of a Careers Course in a Secondary School (Leeds, England: Vocational Guidance Research Unit, University of Leeds) 1970.

33/ Robert Hoppock, Occupational Information (New York: McGraw-Hill) 3rd ed., 1967; Personnel and Guidance Journal, American Personnel and Guidance Association, Washington, D.C.; Daniel Sinick and Robert Hoppock, "Research Across the Nation on the Teaching of Occupations," Vocational Guidance Quarterly, Autumn 1965; David A. Jepsen, "The Impact of Videotaped Occupational Field Trips on Occupational Knowledge," Vocational Guidance Quarterly, September 1972.

34/ L. Darcy, et. al., op. cit., ch. 5.

Two technically-sophisticated attempts have been made to measure directly the impact of official activities on information scores, both based on the Ohio State National Longitudinal Survey, which included limited occupational information tests of youth aged 14 to 24 in 1966. For the variable representing the official information activity, the multivariate analysis used the number of counselors per hundred students in each high school. In regard to the males, the authors found:

> The intensity of vocational guidance in high school appears to be unrelated to scores on the occupational information test for students and nonstudents alike . . . It does point rather strongly to the conclusion that if counseling makes a contribution, it is not by enhancing to any perceptible degree the general understanding students have of the world of work.[35]

A similar result was reported for the females. [36]

Sweden has been in a relatively good position to assess the impact of its official information activities, since this area has been relatively highly developed, especially through the new SYO program. Using before-and-after tests of information, a recent official inquiry was able to measure the impact of its program on the proportion of correct answers achieved by a national sample of upper secondary school pupils who were concluding their two-year courses in 11 separate "lines" or majors.

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[35] Herbert S. Parnes and Andrew I. Kohen, "Labor Market Experience of Non-College Youth: A Longitudinal Analysis." In *From School to Work: Improving the Transition* (Washington: National Commission for Manpower Policy) 1976, p. 23. However, before the conclusion can be accepted that official information activities are ineffective, questions must be raised about the adequacy of the "ratio of counselors to pupils" as a measure of school information activity. Given the reports on how few contacts American high school students have with counselors and how little of the counselors' time is devoted to occupational matters, this measure seems totally inadequate. Yet no other available measure suggests itself. Perhaps the United States, with its meager development of official information activities, is not a suitable place for such an analysis at present.

[36] Frank L. Mott and Sylvia F. Moore, *The Determinants and Consequences of Occupational Information for Young Women* (Columbus: Center for Human Resources Research, The Ohio State University) 1976, p. 12.

Results were quite disappointing. In four of six multiple choice questions, the after results were either no better or worse than the "before," and on only two questions did a majority of the pupils cite the correct answer. On six of the next 13 questions, the "after" results show the same or a lower proportion choosing the correct answers than in the "before" test. Of the seven questions where scores improved after the information course, only three showed a marked rise and only five of the 13 questions were answered correctly by more than half the pupils. 37/

On the whole, the Swedish results do not generate much confidence in the capacity of the official information services to impact new information or correct earlier errors, although allowance must be made for possible imperfections in the program. There is even disturbing evidence that large numbers of pupils were confused by the information course, changing correct answers "before" to incorrect ones "after." This type of research effort in Sweden needs extension and replication elsewhere if more is to be learned about the effects of official information programs.

It is clear that analysis of the independent effects of the official information services is in its infancy in all countries, and that controlled experiments are difficult to implement. At the same time there is promise, as Datta writes, that assessment procedures will also be improved "so that documentation can catch up with the enthusiasm for improving occupational information." 38/

37/ Utprövningsresultat av försöksmaterialet i Studieoch Yrkesorientering, op. cit., pp. 1-32, 53.

38/ Lois-Ellin Datta, op. cit., p. 155.

IV. GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

Guidance and counseling are closely related, but not identical, to information activities. In the context of the transition, guidance consists of two main elements: pointing out the occupational implications of educational choices and relating the requirements of jobs to educational programs. Occupational guidance and counseling help people to discover their interests, aptitudes, competences, values and needs, and relate these to the range of job and career options available.

DEVELOPMENT OF GUIDANCE

When local and spotty guidance efforts in individual countries began to take shape, mostly in the 1920s, varied decisions were made about the relationship of guidance to government authority. Germany decided that vocational guidance should be a governmental monopoly. France and Belgium allowed private agencies, but over the years have tended to absorb them into a governmental structure. In the Netherlands, public vocational guidance was supplemented by private fee-charging agencies, regulated and subsidized by the government. Britain and United States permitted private guidance agencies to operate alongside the public services, though without subsidies in most cases.

A second difference has concerned the responsible agency of government in the guidance and counseling of young people below university level. As indicated earlier, the entire range of possibilities has been represented. Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Norway initially tended to place responsibility on the labor market organization, usually the public employment service. Britain's mixed system combined the Ministry of Labor (now Department of Employment) at the national level with the local education authorities. Both Belgium and France relied on their Ministries of Education, which created nationwide organizations for guidance with regional and local offices set apart from individual schools. In the United States, the dependence chiefly on school districts or individual schools presented the most decentralized model. It was not until 1938 that the U.S. Office of Education established a separate division for guidance. After its creation in the 1930s, the U.S. Employment Service's role was generally small, irregular in coverage, and variable over time.

One of the central problems, widely acknowledged, was the tendency of the education-based services to stress educational and psychological counseling and to neglect the world of work. A Japanese commission studying the reform of the educational system found fault with school-based guidance because it assessed pupils too exclusively on their academic performance and capacity for further study, overlooking "the whole personality of the pupil and all his various aptitudes."[39]

On the other hand, countries which emphasized guidance directed toward job placement were faulted for not providing client-centered counseling. Instead, their agencies offered directive guidance which might be "little more than kindly and paternalistic interviewing concluded with firm advice, even exhortation."[40]

Despite the persistence of real differences among the countries, there has been a significant narrowing of the gap on some major issues , as well as an increasing acceptance of American theories and views. Experts in other countries now frequently declare that occupational guidance is needed throughout life and that "career development" is a more useful term than "occupational choice." They espouse nondirective, client-centered counseling, active participation by clients, greater emphasis on the psychological needs and values of individuals, an earlier start to counseling, more attention to older youth, and greater stress on the psychosocial aspects of work.

Another line of approach suggests a more cautious use and interpretation of tests and assessment devices, and reliance on the computer, group counseling and other methods which give the counselor more time and support to perform the functions assigned by the theorists and planners.

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[39] Basic Guidelines for the Reform of Education, Report of the Central Council for Education, MEJ 80067 (Tokyo: Ministry of Education) 1972, p. 142.

[40] British Journal of Guidance and Counseling (Cambridge: Careers Research and Advisory Centre-CRAC), January 1973, p. 2.

In countries with a long-standing labor market orientation, recent changes have been influenced both by American counseling ideas and the advent of prolonged education. Sweden's SYO and Germany's recent provision for educational guidance are adaptations to this change, as is the expansion in the number of careers teachers and counselors in Britain's schools. Reversing this process, countries where prolonged education was established earlier (Canada, Japan, and France, for example) now have injected greater labor market influence into a previously education-dominated situation.41/

Many countries are also responding to three new imperatives. First, there is an increase in differentiated counseling services, as described earlier. Second, radical and critical approaches to the society and particularly the educational and employment systems, respect for the youth counterculture, and revised attitudes toward work values are challenging the concepts and practices of counseling. Third, the idea that youth should participate in the planning and administration of the counseling services, while not widely accepted and implemented, is likely to spread. For all the convergence which has been noted, however, it is premature to celebrate uniformity, as is shown in the country profiles which follow.

COUNTRY PROFILES

Sweden

While it is too early to judge the superiority of Sweden's SYO consultants over the prior system of teacher-counselors in the compulsory school, initial evidence suggests some improvement. However, problems remain. In theory, all ninth-graders are guided in choosing upper secondary school courses. Although a majority of 16-year-olds do proceed directly to upper secondary studies, about 25 percent, half of whom intend to return to school within a year or two, attempt to enter the labor market at 16 or earlier. Another 10 to 15 percent enter upper secondary school, but drop out soon. Intensive SYO counseling activities have been undertaken for these groups on an experimental basis.

The recent introduction of the SYO consultants in the upper secondary school provides specialized educational-occupational counselors for pupils who previously relied on teachers or the all-age vocational guidance offered by the local employment service. Those who cannot be helped sufficiently by the SYO consultant still can be referred to the employment service.

41/ J. Drevillon, "Former les conseillers: pour quelles fonctions?" Bulletin de l'Association des conseillers d'orientation de France, May-June 1977, pp. 9-15.

At the higher education level, the deficiency of counseling services has resulted in part from the rapid expansion of enrollments in the 1960s. In 1971, there was a public complaint that the 20,000 full-time students at Uppsala University had only one part-time counselor. The need for educational-occupational information and guidance has been met by establishing an educational guidance organization at each institution of higher education, under the central administration of the Office of the Chancellor of Swedish Universities; the latter also employs counselors who may be consulted in Stockholm. In addition, in each university town, the Labor Market Administration maintains one vocational counselor who usually spends one or more days a week on campus and cooperates closely with the educational counselors, not only on individual guidance but also on labor market developments. Together they plan the information to be given to groups through seminars, public debates and other means. While official sources claim that a high proportion of university students also directly consult the E.S. vocational guidance officers, in 1971-72 only 10 percent of university students were said to have had counseling from the over two hundred E.S. vocational guidance officers throughout Sweden.

Among the other youth groups singled out in Sweden as special targets for intensified vocational guidance are school dropouts; new entrants to the labor market who have had low academic achievement; unemployed youth, especially those who lack occupational skills or academic qualifications; the physically, mentally, or socially handicapped; and immigrants. Swedish policy and practice are highly developed in singling out the vulnerable groups, centralizing and coordinating guidance services, and combining guidance with interventions which offer supportive and remedial social and manpower service.

West Germany

There has been less change in the structure of German education than in most western European countries. The three distinct kinds of schools, which divide youngsters at 11 or 12, still predominate over the attempts to introduce comprehensive education or otherwise modify the long-standing system. Pressures to alter the traditional guidance arrangements have arisen from increases in the proportion of young people who undertake a technical or academic upper secondary education and either go on to higher education or enter the labor market. Instead of the former concentration on occupational counseling for the 15- and 16-year old school-leavers who enter apprenticeships, a new need has been seen for counseling on educational choices. In addition, occupational counseling is required by young people who go from upper secondary education at 19 directly to work--a change from the earlier situation in which virtually all Gymnasien graduates proceeded to the university--and also by the increased numbers attending, dropping out, stopping out, and obtaining degrees in higher education.

Although a cooperative arrangement between the Federal Ministry of Education and the State education ministers facilitates educational counseling in the schools, the 11 individual states vary in their provisions. The Federal government holds a monopoly on occupational counseling and, through the Federal Employment Institute, offers a reasonably uniform service throughout the country.

A recent investigation indicates that the counselors believe that they initiate the vast majority of individual interviews, while the young people concerned give somewhat more credit to themselves, their mothers, and teachers. In 1973-74, over one fourth of those counseled had more than one interview and almost 10 percent had three or more sessions.

On the other hand, only 42 percent of the new Gymnasien graduates sought individual interviews, which are likely to concern further education, the occupational implications of educational choices, and, for some, selection of occupations. Preparation for the individual interview is facilitated by a new teaching program called STEP, which is available for those who attend secondary schools other than the Hauptschule, which is the compulsory school, generally ending at 15. The pupil completes the workbook, which both gives and tests information, explores personal aptitudes and interests, relates preliminary occupational choices to the labor market situation, and develops a profile which prepares the young person for a personal interview and gives the counselor advance information about the interviewee to supplement school reports. This is a useful and attractive method of economizing on scarce counselor time, and it may be a cheaper method than a computer, if the computer is used solely for this purpose.

In contrast to the full national documentation on the amount of occupational counseling up to the level of higher education, there is relatively little information about the amount of the educational and occupational counseling available and utilized in universities and other institutions of higher education.

France

The French system of educational guidance requires formal assessment of pupils even before their entrance to elementary school. The July 1975 education law provides for flexibility according to maturity and ability both in the age of starting first grade (5, 6, or 7 years old) and in progress through compulsory schooling which ends at 16. Moreover, the channeling of pupils into lower secondary education begins at 10 years for some, and program decisions with occupational consequences are made at 13 for many youngsters, although to a decreasing extent.

Counselors attached to the Centres d'Information et d'Orientation (CIO) are supposed to advise on occupations as well as educational paths, but their strength has been in educational assessment and guidance. Increasingly, counselors are becoming informed about occupations and their relation to occupational choices, a subject on which ONISEP provides them with very complete information. Counselors now concentrate on youth nearing the end of lower secondary education (15 to 16 years old) and bring the choices to the attention of young people through group and individual counseling sessions.

These personnel are reinforced by several hundred vocational guidance officers in the National Employment Agency (ANPE) which serves all age groups. In 1968, over one-fifth of the clients seeking ANPE vocational guidance were enrolled in some form of educational institution.

Japan

Although compulsory education ends at 15, over 85 percent of Japanese graduates from the lower secondary school proceed to a relatively uniform upper secondary school which concludes at 18, and a substantial proportion of these continue into higher education. This circumstance, plus the Japanese concern with obtaining entrance into preferred educational institutions, beginning with kindergarten, make educational guidance both important and special, since all public and private educational institutions have social prestige rankings. In turn, the quality of the job and the firm entered by the young worker is highly dependent on the particular schools attended; this is almost more important than the academic record itself.

Within the schools, homeroom teachers, subject teachers, and the principals have some guidance duties, backing up the part-time educational and vocational teacher-counselors who may head guidance departments. Following a 1971 national survey of educational and vocational guidance, an effort has been made to reduce the teaching hours of the counselors and the question of establishing full-time counselors has been debated.

The heavy reliance on ordinary teachers for guidance has been criticized on the ground of their lack of aptitude and the absence of special training. University-level training is sparse and incomplete in this area and counseling tends to be equated with psychotherapy. Unless the head of the school is supportive, the school's guidance effort may be weak, even if teachers are willing and able.

Pupils reported that they felt confident about their knowledge of their own interests, academic abilities, and so forth, although about 60 percent said that their self-awareness was not developed through personnel at school. However, they felt a serious lack of school guidance about occupations which was not remedied by outside guidance. Homeroom teachers complained of the lack of time to conduct individual counseling, a reaction supported by the pupils who seemed to have little inclination to consult their teachers on educational and vocational problems. In those schools, mostly junior high schools, where the employment service (PESO) participates directly in information, guidance, and placement activities, PESO conducts individual counseling on occupational choice for pupils entering the labor market and gives technical assistance to schools in the administration and evaluation of tests. In the senior high schools, PESO gives the same assistance at the school's request.

At the higher education level, placement and counseling services have been part of student personnel services, organized separately by each institution. Placement and job-related services have long been well-organized, but broader educational and occupational counseling is fairly recent and has often occurred as the placement offices expand their functions. In addition, an informal system exists whereby each professor has a following of students for whose future the professor takes personal responsibility. This system is familiar elsewhere, but is highly developed in Japan, where, as Hiroi states: "Crude and eccentric as it may seem, the professor's guidance often proves to be far more effective than the systematic help given by the personnel experts in an administrative department." 42/

Great Britain

The substitution in many parts of England and Wales of comprehensive for differentiated schools--secondary modern, technical, and grammar--has changed the character of education up to age 16 or 18. But the residue of early specialization in school subjects, together with the marked prolongation of education since the 1960s, have given great importance to a type of educational counseling which is related to occupational opportunities. This newer imperative has been joined to the established British commitment to vocational guidance and to job placement at all levels of education.

Responsibility for educational and careers counseling in schools has been divided among three main types of personnel--careers officers, careers teachers, and school counselors. But there are no clear or uniform demarcations of responsibility and great variation in practice

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42/ Proceedings of the First Asian Regional Seminar on Educational and Vocational Guidance and the Second General Assembly of the Asian Regional Association on Vocation and Educational Guidance (ARAVEG), (Tokyo: Vocational Guidance Association), 1974, p. 67.

exists from one local education authority to another. Careers teams are favored, but such arrangements, usually ad hoc in individual schools, lack the formal, national organization of Sweden's SYO. The present British structure is rife with opportunities for duplication, competition, and gaps in counseling services within both schools and LEAs.

The newest type of counseling personnel, still scarce in British schools, is the school counselor who may offer educational and occupational counseling along with personal and social guidance. Thus far, British experience with this new post suggests that occupational guidance is not one of the main concerns of the school counselor.

Also fairly new are careers teachers. Attached to individual schools within an LEA, careers teachers or tutors, are overwhelmingly part-time, often without any relief from teaching duties. They organize and provide educational and occupational information in curricular and extracurricular activities and provide individual or group guidance, as their limited time permits.

The third and longest established group, whose specialty is occupational guidance below the tertiary level, is the Careers Service (formerly Youth Employment Service). Employed by an LEA, but not by individual schools, careers officers are full-time personnel who are entrusted with tasks covering every aspect of the transition services. A degree of specialization has entered recently into careers officers' work, and the selection and training of staff have become increasingly professional; but careers officers still claim that they have too many functions and are expert in none.

Individual guidance interviews are recognized as the single most time-consuming activity of careers officers. A long-running debate in the columns of Careers Quarterly, the organ of the Institute of Careers Officers, has aired a variety of opinions about how important this activity should be. The 1948 recommendation that a personal interview with each school-leaver should be compulsory was not adopted. However, compared with other industrialized countries, Great Britain has had one of the highest rates of guidance interviews with school-leavers.

In recent years the Careers Service has made intensive efforts to identify young people in and out of school who are "at odds" with society for a variety of reasons or who are "at risk" because of physical, mental, or social handicaps. Within the framework of the comprehensive transition services, the Careers Service has made specific efforts to assist minority youth, but recent evidence indicates that many youth of West Indian origin reject the official services and resist referrals to them. Among the suggestions to improve the situation are the recruitment of careers officers from the minority population, increased training for all careers officers on minority problems, cooperation with other youth service groups, and outreach efforts.

In British higher education, each institution long has had a placement service, and recently most of these have expanded their functions to include information and counseling. A central organization provides for a sharing of experience. Students can also use the Occupational Guidance Units (OGU) of the Employment Services Agency where 55 to 60 percent of clients are 18 to 24 years old and where more intensive and nondirective counseling is offered without direct consideration of placement opportunities. Although the OGU's accept young applicants who are out of school, they do not publicize such services and, as careers officers become more plentiful at further education colleges, the OGUs will become more careful about competition. Questionnaires among users of the OGU show a high proportion satisfied with their guidance even if they had not pursued it.

V: INITIAL PLACEMENT: JOB SEARCH AND JOB-FINDING METHODS

Labor market entry is identified in most countries with the search for and acceptance of the first full-time job after leaving a recognized educational level, often at the end of compulsory schooling. Part-time jobs held during the educational process are disregarded because they rarely relate to the initial full-time job. Job search by new entrants, therefore, is an easily distinguishable phase of the transition from school to work. However, a more complex situation obtains in the United States, Canada and increasingly in other countries where prolonged education, "stopping-out," returning for additional education, and part-time education combined with full-time work are becoming common. For the United States it has been proposed that career entry to the labor force might be separated from work that is merely a temporary income source.43/ As used here, job search and job-finding refer to first and early full-time jobs sought after leaving full-time education.

OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL JOB SEARCH METHODS

Job search methods are here defined as "official" and "unofficial," although these categories depart slightly from the most common classification of "formal" and "informal" methods. Official methods are invariably formal, but all formal methods are not official.

43/ H.J. Becker, How Young People Find Career-Entry Jobs: A Review of the Literature, Report No. 241, Center for the Study of Social Organization of Schools (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University), November, 1977, pp. 2-6; Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure (New York, Wiley) 1967; Michael D. Ornstein, Entry into the American Labor Force (Springfield, Va.: U.S. Department of Commerce) 1971; Michael D. Ornstein and P.H. Rossi, Going to Work: An Analysis of the Determinants and Consequences of Entry into the Labor Force, Report No. 75, Center for the Study of Social Organization of Schools (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1970); S. Stephenson, Jr., "The Transition from School to Work with Job Search Implications," paper presented at a conference at the University of California at Los Angeles, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Labor, February 1978.

Most prominent among the official channels is the public employment service. To protect the employment service, a number of countries, among them Germany, Austria, and the Scandinavian countries, forbid their schools to make job placements. But where placements by educational institutions are permitted, schools serve in authorized cooperation with the public employment service (Japan), as independent but accepted placement services (United States), or as competitors of the public Careers Service (Great Britain). In higher education, official placement services in each institution exist side by side with a public employment service. An ambiguity in the role of educational institutions appears when surveys of job search and job-finding methods fail to distinguish between the personal placement aid of teachers, professors, or other individuals and the help offered by the institution's official placement service.

In addition, official placement channels include formal examination systems for government or other posts, armed forces recruitment veterans offices, employment and training agencies, welfare or public assistance agencies, organizations to aid the disabled, and community organizations.

Unofficial search methods consist of aid from relatives and friends; direct application to employers; answering or placing ads in newspapers or trade and professional journals; applications to professional associations or trade unions; and use of private employment agencies. Many northern European countries ban, limit, or regulate private employment agencies, which are chiefly found in the English-speaking countries.

As sources of information, job search methods range from those which provide intensive, detailed, 'inside' information about the job, the firm, and the staff to those which give routine information such as titles, duties, pay and hours. Intensive information, characteristic of some but not all of the unofficial search methods, rarely is provided by official sources; information obtained from friends, relatives, employees of the firm, teachers or professors, and trade unions is most likely to be intensive. Direct applications to employers ordinarily produce more intensive information than that offered by newspaper ads, private employment agencies, or official placement services.

Whether a job seeker wants or needs intensive information depends on the level and type of job. New entrants whose qualifications and expectations channel them toward routine jobs usually feel no need to acquire intensive information about vacancies, especially if they are eager to work close to home and are prepared to change jobs.44/ Lacking

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44/ D. Whipple, "A Generalized Theory of Job Search," Journal of Political Economy, September 1973, vol. 81, pp. 1170-1188.

prior job experience, new entrants have no basis of comparison to judge intensive job information. At this level, the psychosocial differences among available jobs may seem slight and not worth much search effort or prior investigation. Young workers, in trying out various jobs, acquire job information and knowledge of themselves from actual experience. In the absence of specific skills or large investments in human capital, many new new entrants hesitate to spend much time, effort, or money on job search.[45] It may be a middle-class prejudice that a careful prior weighing of alternatives is worthwhile under all circumstances.

If all job information were equally accurate, the choice between intensive and extensive information sources would be simpler. However, the range of accuracy is enormous, even when an employer communicates directly with an applicant and especially when friends and relatives are the search method.

Not only do job search methods vary as to the type and accuracy of job information they offer on individual vacancies, but they also are dissimilar in the range and number of vacancies they provide. In general, the more intensive the information provided by a search method, the more limited the range and number of jobs.

Indeed, a friend or relative may know about only one job vacancy at any time. Deliberate specialization in certain types of jobs or geographical areas also characterizes many of the search methods, especially the private employment agencies, unions, professional associations, and vocational or technical schools. Unintended concentration may occur, as in the public employment services, which tend, worldwide, to have a disproportionate number of unskilled vacancies. However, the E.S. geographic coverage is usually wider than other sources for all jobs except those at the professional, technical, and managerial level.

The search methods offering the most intensive information also are most likely to have the personal connections with prospective employers which can ease the interview and promote hiring.[46] Even if these information sources do not actually intercede on behalf of a job seeker, they probably present a more personal introduction to the employer than can be obtained through other job search methods.

45/ R. Gronau, "Information and Frictional Unemployment," American Economic Review, June 1971, vol. 61, pp. 290-301.

46/ Mark S. Granovetter, Getting A Job: A Study of Contacts and Careers (Cambridge: Harvard University Press) 1974.

Search methods also vary in their attitude toward the existing job structure; their alternatives are to passively accept, actively support, or seek to influence or change the hiring practices and prejudices of employers. Passive acceptance of employer standards is the most common position everywhere and is prominent in the institutionalized or formal intermediaries, whether official or unofficial. Active reinforcement of existing patterns is exemplified by the practice in some trade union hiring halls of screening out job seekers of the "wrong" race, ethnic group, sex, or age.

Efforts to influence or change employer standards may be made by public agencies which enforce government policy on discrimination or employer hiring, have the task of persuading employers to accept disadvantaged job seekers, or are engaged in employability development, skill training, and other upgrading of workers. If employers are compelled to change their standards or to notify their vacancies, the official channels are more likely to be successful in opening new job opportunities than when they must use persuasion, especially in slack labor markets. In periods of transition in public attitudes, these positive activities of the official channels may speed the pace of change, influencing both the users of their services and job outcomes.

An associated way in which public placement agencies may pass judgment on the existing job structure is through an explicit decision not to refer job applicants to openings which are deemed substandard or where the turnover rate is exceptionally high. As a matter of official policy, few countries pursue this course; Sweden is an exception.47/ However, placement officers also may follow a passive policy of neglecting the least desirable openings if they have enough unfilled vacancies to serve their clientele. This is a new and debated idea in agencies which have a long tradition of service to employers and job applicants equally.48/ For example, controversy of this kind has attached to the British Youth Employment Service's past performance, with some claiming that the Y.E.S. served the employer to the neglect of the new entrants, and others taking the reverse position.

47/ Report on Labour Market Policy, Landsorganisationen (LO), (Stockholm, Swedish Trade Union Confederation) 1975, pp. 63-70.

48/ Margaret Thal-Larsen, Placement and Counseling in a Changing Labor Market: Public and Private Employment Agencies and Schools (Berkeley: Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California at Berkeley) August 1970, pp. 70-72, 401.

Still more disputed is the question of how this relationship ought to be handled and whether dead-end, low-level jobs should be filled at all. Employers, on the other hand, have been resentful when they are urged to accept young people who do not meet their standards, whether or not such standards are required by the job.[49] In any case, it should not be assumed automatically that the official job search agencies are neutrally engaged in a strict matching of vacancies and applicants.

NUMBER OF SEARCH METHODS USED

According to some American observers, an individual's willingness to resort to "a variety of job search methods increases the likelihood of a smooth transition into the labor force."[50] An alternative position, tentatively offered here, is that, for groups, a larger number of search methods is associated with a difficult labor market characterized by slack demand, a search for specific or rare jobs, or the lack of effective official placement agencies. Internationally, the slim evidence available indicates that fewer search methods are needed in countries with a traditionally high demand for new entrants and a well-organized labor market, including an active placement service.

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[49] Kenneth Roberts, From School to Work: A Study of the Youth Employment Service (Newton Abbot, England: David and Charles) 1971, pp. 105-8; Michael P. Carter, Home, School and Work (New York: Macmillan) 1962, pp. 144-8; Joan Maizels, Adolescent Needs and the Transition from School to Work (London: Athlone Press) 1970, chs. 10, 17, 18.

[50] Labor Force Entry and Career Connection Patterns of Cleveland's Young Job-Seekers (Cleveland: Manpower Planning and Development Commission of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland), 1971, p. 55; Harold L. Sheppard and Harvey A. Belitsky, The Job Hunt: Job-Seeking Behavior of Unemployed Workers in a Local Economy (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press) 1966, p. 55; David N. Saunders, "The Company Youth Keep: An Empirical Analysis of Job Finding Among Young Men 14-24," Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate School of Social Work, Bryn Mawr College, School of Social Work, 1974, p. 328.

A British study of school leavers offers cross-sectional evidence to support the view that more search methods are required where employment circumstances are unfavorable. The average number of job search methods of the total sample was 3.4 on a base of 11 search methods and 2.2 on a base of five collapsed categories. When the average number of search methods was analyzed by the length of time the boys had been unemployed before obtaining their first jobs, the level and type of job they had sought, and the area of residence, it was clear that more job search strategies were used on the average when entry unemployment was longer, the occupational level of the job sought was higher, and the area employment situation was more difficult. 51/

The British study also investigated the number of job search methods utilized by boys who changed jobs within the first 18 months of leaving school in 1968-69. Two findings emerged. The job changers used fewer search methods for each successive job, and they used fewer methods to find their first jobs than did the boys who remained in their first jobs throughout. 52/

Previous British studies of early school-leavers also indicated that favorable employment conditions were associated with fewer job search methods per job seeker and with briefer entrance unemployment. It was suggested, too, that some youngsters who were uninformed about the Youth Employment Service or were reluctant to visit the Y.E.O. early, may have used more job search methods than were strictly necessary, since they ended up with jobs obtained through a Y.E.O. Those who tried for jobs beyond the level they eventually attained or who were fussy about the jobs they sought were also apt to utilize more search methods than others. 53/

51/ Roger Thomas and Diana Wetherell, Starting Work and After, Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (London: HMSO) forthcoming, chs. 3 and 4.

52/ Ibid.

53/ Michael P. Carter, Home, School and Work (New York: Macmillan) 1962, pp. 168-9; Michael P. Carter, Into Work (Baltimore: Penguin Books) 1966, pp. 148-9; Joan Maizels, Adolescent Needs and the Transition from School to Work (London: Athlone Press) 1970, pp. 117-8, 138-42.

American nationwide data cast light on the number of search methods associated with differences in the level of jobs sought. Recent recipients of bachelors' and advanced degrees, both those with jobs and those still seeking work in October 1972, had used, on the average, 3.5 methods, on a base of nine job search approaches. Another group of job seekers, labeled "never worked before" and including many less-educated new entrants, which was surveyed in 1970, 1971, and 1972, averaged less than 1.5 methods in each of the three years on a base of six methods. Recognizing that the fewer the number of search methods designated in a survey, the lower the average number of search methods in the results, it still appeared that those who had searched for the scarcer, more prestigious jobs may have used more search methods. On the other hand, no significant differences in the average number of job search methods appeared when the national survey for 1970, 1971, and 1972 was subdivided by race, sex, or age. 54/

International comparisons of the average number of search methods are hazardous because of the small number of studies and countries covered as well as differences in concepts, methods, and the groups sampled. However, the possibility that fewer search methods may be required in certain institutional settings is suggested by Swedish experience. Studies in 1969-71 of job search methods used by young Swedes (with no separation of new entrants) reveal that a high proportion of job seekers, both job changers and the unemployed, relied on a single job search method. 55/

In an American survey of job finders of all ages in January 1973, 36.1 percent had used five or more methods; a higher proportion of men (39.9) than women (31.4) and of blacks and other races (42.9) than whites (35.3) was in this category. Under one-fifth of the total used only one method, a slightly lower proportion used two methods, and one-fourth used three or four methods. The average number of methods increased as the job search lengthened. 56/

54/ Thomas F. Bradshaw, Jobseeking Methods Used by Unemployed Workers, Special Labor Force Report 150 (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics) 1967, pp. 37, 40, A3, A5.

55/ Sweden, National Labour Market Board, a.) Arbetssökandet under 1969 (Job Search During 1969), Meddelanden från Utredningsbyran, No. 4, 1971; b.) Arbetssökandet under 1970 (Job Search During 1970), Meddelanden från Utredningsbyran, No. 2, 1972; c.) Sysselsättningsförhällanden, Arbetslöshet och Arbetssökande (Employment, Unemployment and Job Search), Meddelanden från Utredningsenheten No. 34, 1972.

56/ Job Finding Survey, January 1973 (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics) 1974.

The luxury of turning down a job offer was enjoyed by just under a third of the total but by only 22.2 percent of blacks and other races and 22.6 percent of male teenagers. For the vast majority, the job they accepted was the only job offer they received.

UTILIZATION RATES

Among the British school-leavers, the most popular search methods were, in order of importance: visits or phone calls to employers, visits to the Youth Employment Office, looking at newspaper ads, and asking somebody for advice about job-seeking. Fifty-six percent of all the boys directly contacted employers and 53 percent visited Y.E.O. When the boys were also asked which methods they had used more than once, the same methods proved most important, but in a different order; checking newspaper ads moved to first place, followed by visits to the Youth Employment Office. It should be borne in mind that the boys were not asked about following-up newspaper ads, but merely about looking at them.57/

The job search methods in 1973 of the American youth who had recently left or completed school were, in order of frequency: applying directly to employers (66.6 percent), asking friends about jobs where they work, asking friends about jobs elsewhere, and answering local newspaper ads. In the leading four methods out of a total of 20, the official channels played no part. The major official methods occupied the fifth, eight, ninth, and eleventh places in the following sequence: school placement service, asking teacher or professor, State employment service, and civil service test.58/

While comparisons between countries are difficult, it was significant that 71 percent of the British school-leavers either went to the Youth Employment Offices; or, in some places, consulted job ads outside these offices; but less than 30 percent of the American sample of 1973 visited the State employment service. However, more than one-third of the Americans utilized their school or college placement offices and almost as many consulted teachers or professors, while only about 16 percent of the British school-leavers rated their teachers or headmasters as particularly helpful.

Unemployed Swedish youth have been highly likely to use official channels. Data for unemployed new entrants for 1971 showed that over three-fourths of this group had used only the employment service in their job search; by 1973, this proportion was down to just over one-third; but, taken together with those who combined the employment

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57/Thomas and Wetherell, op.cit., chs. 3, 4.

58/Jobseeking Methods Used by American Workers, Bulletin 1886, (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics) 1975.

service with another method, the employment service still accounted for over 70 percent of search methods.59/ A Canadian monthly analysis of job search methods from January 1975 through October 1976 found a high rate of use (60 percent) of the public employment service by 15-24 year old unemployed males and females. Only the rate for direct contacts with employers (65 percent) was higher and other methods had much lower rates.60/

Among American degree recipients who found employment, the four most common search methods had been direct application to employers, visiting the college placement office or asking a professor, consulting friends and relatives, and looking at newspaper ads. Some 78 percent applied to employers, but only 18.3 percent consulted the State employment service. The degree recipients who were still unemployed in October 1972 also gave first place to contacts with employers; however, they used college placement offices less frequently than had the employed graduates and resorted to newspaper ads, the employment service, and private agencies more often.

The data also indicate considerable variation among and within countries in the utilization rates of the official channels compared with the unofficial channels. In the United States and France, the official methods lag farther behind the most popular unofficial methods than they do in Sweden and Great Britain. Moreover, this position is more marked for youth than for adults in the United States and France, in contrast to several European countries where the highest rate of utilization of the official channels occurs among youth, especially new entrants.

The causes of the generally lower utilization of the official channels in the United States and France than in Sweden or Great Britain probably lie in less plentiful or effective provision of official channels, less specialization in new entrants and youth, less knowledge about available services, fewer placement services in or near schools, and a less favorable public image of these channels.

59/ Sweden, National Labour Market Board, Meddelanden från Utredningensheten (also called Meddelanden fran Utredningsbyran, No. 4, 1972; No. 2, 1974, Stockholm, 1972, 1974.

60/ Job Search Methods of the Unemployed, No. 10, Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey Division) 1977, p. 16.

The British longitudinal study of young school-leavers offers some evidence on the relation between utilization rates and four factors--duration of entry unemployment, the labor market situation in the area of residence, the level of the first job, and job changing.61/ The longer the entry unemployment, the larger was the proportion of boys resorting to almost every search method. Moreover, the official channels became relatively more important as job search time lengthened. The "visits to the Y.E.O. and armed forces," which held third place for boys with no entry unemployment, moved to first place for those with under a month, as well as one month or more, of unemployment.

For area of residence, the survey indicates that each important search method was used more by the boys living in areas designated as "hard" for employment than by boys in the "medium" and "easy" areas. Although the relative reliance on visits to the Y.E.O. and armed forces increased less markedly in the "hard" areas than did resorting to unofficial methods, two of the three "hard" areas led the list when areas were compared in terms of the proportion of boys who visited the Y.E.O. more than once before finding their first jobs.

The survey reported on the extent of use of the Y.E.O. according to the level or type of first job actually entered. The least use was made by those whose jobs are described as "top manual" or "manual apprentice." No doubt many of these boys used personal contacts or influence to get these prized jobs. On the other hand, boys seeking white-collar jobs made the greatest use of Y.E.O.; 65 percent visited the Y.E.O. at least once and 32 percent came more than once. The explanation here is not that the Y.E.O. was a particularly good source of such jobs, but rather that these early leavers, possessing less education and fewer credentials than older, better educated boys competing for the same type of job, and often coming from homes with no experience or contacts with white-collar work, turned to the Y.E.O. for help.

The last category analyzed was job changing. As they looked for successive jobs within the first 18 months, job changers narrowed their search methods and concentrated on the methods which had ranked highest in the search for the first job. Visits to employers and the Y.E.O. became relatively more significant, while resort to such strategies as asking someone for advice or writing to an employer declined over the successive job changes. The job search methods of the changers differed slightly from those of the stayers. Boys who remained with one employer during the first 18 months after leaving school (55 percent of the sample) had searched for their first jobs through the

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61/ Thomas and Wetherell, op.cit., chs. 3, 4.

same five leading methods as the job changers, but the order differed. Also, greater emphasis on the personal contact methods was shown by the stayers than by the changers. Not unexpectedly, changers made many more contacts with the Y.E.O. than stayers after the start of the first jobs, but prior to that time, the stayers had more contact.

Some national and local studies, especially in the United States, report that utilization rates of job search methods vary considerably according to the personal and social characteristics of the new entrants and young job changers. Limiting the present discussion to the utilization of search methods, as distinguished from effectiveness rates or job-finding methods, a number of studies (some not confined to youth) indicate that the least able academically, the unskilled, the unemployed, minority groups, other disadvantaged young people and inner-city residents rely more heavily on the employment service than others but that they use the school placement service, where it exists, less frequently. Less conclusive evidence is available on group differences in the utilization of unofficial methods.62/

62/ Melvin Lurie and Elton Ryack, "Racial Differences in Migration and Job Search: A Case Study," The Southern Economic Journal, July 1966; David N. Saunders, op. cit.; Paul Bullock, Youth in the Labor Market: Employment Patterns and Career Aspirations in Watts and East Los Angeles (Los Angeles: Manpower Research Center, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California at Los Angeles), 1972; Alice Kidder, "Interracial Comparisons of Labor Market Behavior," Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, August 1967; Saul S. Leshner and George Snyderman, "Jobseeking Patterns of Disadvantaged Youth," Employment Service Review, November 1965; Harvey J. Hilaski, "How Poverty Area Residents Look for Work," Monthly Labor Review, March 1971; Duane E. Leigh and V. Lane Rawlins, "Racial Differentials in Male Unemployment Rates: Evidence from Low-Income Urban Areas," Review of Economics and Statistics, May 1974; Kirk R. Petshek, Negroes in the White-Collar Labor Market: Training, Employment, and Attitudes, (Madison: Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education, University of Wisconsin) 1971; Jeffry Piker, Entry into the Labor Force, A Survey of Literature on the Experience of Negro and White Youths (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan-Wayne State University) 1968; William V. Pace, "Racial Differences in Job Search Patterns," Ph.D. dissertation, North Carolina University at Raleigh, 1967.

Confusing utilization and effectiveness rates, some American analysts have stated that racial differences in the rate of utilization of the various search methods are a prime explanation of the type of jobs obtained. A particular point is made that reliance on friends and relatives limits disadvantaged youth to a narrow and undesirable range of jobs. These analysts advocate a change in job search methods as a means of improving the type of jobs obtained.

Several observations may be made about this argument. First, the utilization of a search method does not insure that it will be effective. If, for example, increased numbers of blacks approach trade unions or private employment agencies while the number who are offered jobs as a result remains unchanged, no improvement will result. Second, unless a change in the job structure occurs, either volunarily or through government pressure, resort to more or different job search methods is inadequate to combat segmented or segregated labor markets or to achieve occupational upgrading. In general, job search methods reflect the types of jobs sought rather than determining the types of jobs obtained.

Third, the use of friends and relatives is not an inherently undesirable search method. It is bad chiefly when the job seeker's occupational qualifications are considerably higher than those of his or her source's or when suitable jobs in the primary labor market are not suggested by contacts. Fourth, if all other factors are held constant, racial or ethnic differences among users of various job search methods prove to be negligible, as Saunders found, and are replaced by differences in educational levels, social class, age, and place of residence.[63] Fifth, the intensity and manner of searching for jobs may be more important than the choice of particular search methods, since utilization rates only reflect the behavior of the supply side. Information is needed about effectiveness rates as well.

EFFECTIVENESS RATES

Effectiveness rates relate the number of new entrants who say they obtained their first jobs through a given method to the number who say that they used that search method.[64] Two aspects of job search effectiveness may be distinguished: job offers and job acceptances.

Usually ignored, job offers were counted in the British longitudinal study of 1968-69, which indicated that the boys received 1.9 job offers on average. As a proportion of the number using each search method, offers were most frequent for boys who visited and made phone calls to employers, asked somebody for help, visited the Y.E.O., and wrote to employers. Most boys must have accepted the first job offered. The rate of job acceptances was highest for the methods which also had the highest rate of job offers. All offers were accepted by the boys who waited for others to do something, 96 percent by those who asked somebody for help, 92 percent by those who asked somebody for advice on jobs, and 90 percent by those applying to employers. The rate dropped to 81 percent for boys who visited the Y.E.O., but no search method showed a high rate of rejection of job offers.65/

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[63] David N. Saunders, op. cit.

[64] H. J. Becker, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

Additional information is available on job offers by area of residence and by job level.66/ Of the boys who had come to the Y.E.O. at least once, the proportion who received a job offer ranged from 44 percent to 78 percent in the 10 areas. The proportion receiving offers was above average in the "easy" areas, but the rate of acceptance tended to be low, attesting to the existence of alternative vacancies. Nationwide, boys who entered the bottom manual jobs received the highest proportion of job offers (68 percent). Those in middle manual jobs were next (63 percent), followed by boys in nonmanual and top manual jobs, including apprentices (59 percent). Acceptance of offers was high, ranging from 77.2 percent to 81.4 percent, with the boys who obtained nonmanual jobs showing the highest acceptance rate and those who entered the top manual class the lowest.

Turning next to the proportion of those visiting the Y.E.O. at least once who attained a job by that method, just over 50 percent obtained their first jobs through this source, but the range in the 10 areas was from 32 percent to 62 percent. The areas below the national average had all been classified earlier as "medium" or "hard," while the "easy" areas registered above average. It appeared that the Y.E.O. effectiveness rate was highest in areas where relatively few boys sought its placement help, more employers and more vacancies came to the Y.E.O., more job offers per boy were made by the Y.E.O., and the acceptance rate of job offers was relatively low.67/

The Y.E.O.'s effectiveness rates for various types of jobs follow anticipated lines but differences were not marked. Of all the boys who came to the Y.E.O. at least once and whose first jobs were unskilled,

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65/ Thomas and Wetherell, op.cit., chs. 3, 4.

66/ Ibid.

67/ Ibid., Kenneth Roberts, From School to Work: A Study of the Youth Employment Service (Newton Abbott, England: David and Charles) 1971, p. 99.

53 percent found their jobs through the Y.E.O. At the low end were those who obtained the best manual jobs, with an effectiveness rate of 44 percent. Bearing in mind that some of the boys may not have followed any of the suggestions given them by the Y.E.O. and that some boys reduced their job expectations as they searched, the range of these effectiveness rates is not wide. The Y.E.O. was only slightly more helpful to boys entering unskilled work.[68]

British effectiveness rates may now be set beside American despite many limitations on comparability. In three surveys a high degree of agreement exists on the most effective methods. It is apparent also that, with a few exceptions, the most effective job search methods were the ones used most frequently. The British effectiveness list includes one unorthodox and little-used method (waiting for others to do something), while the effectiveness list for American degree recipients omits a method with a relatively high utilization rate, namely job search through professional periodicals or organizations.

Direct application to employers was the most highly utilized and effective method in every case, with friends and relations second in effectiveness in two studies. Newspaper ads were heavily consulted but were relatively unproductive in both countries. In the American study of January 1973, effectiveness rates for all ages were similar to those for the subgroup of young people who sought work because they had left or finished school, except that the whole group of job seekers had notably higher rates of success through union hiring halls or placing and answering ads in newspapers.[69] The data for new entrants suggest that British effectiveness rates run higher than American and that there is a greater gap between the rates of the official and the unofficial methods in the United States than in Great Britain. Although British official methods are listed in a more concentrated fashion than American, they seem to be at an advantage over the American in both utilization and effectiveness rates.

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[68] Thomas and Wetherell, op.cit., chs. 3, 4.

[69] Jobseeking Methods Used by American Workers, Bulletin 1886 (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics), 1975.

The American surveys indicate that females got better results than males from civil service tests, newspaper ads, private employment agencies, and school placement offices, while males did better than females through other methods. These results are more easily explained by differences in the types of jobs sought than in sex differences or sex discrimination within the search methods.70/

Data on racial differences without age breakdowns were provided by one American national survey.71/ Whites had higher effectiveness rates than blacks and other races from direct applications to employers, answering newspaper ads, school placement services, private employment agencies, union hiring halls, and asking friends or relatives about jobs not at their own workplace. Blacks had a better effectiveness record than whites with the public employment service, local organizations, and asking friends or relatives about jobs at places where they work. These finding were consistent with a few local studies, including inner-city surveys.72/

Because some of the search methods which are more effective for whites than blacks are associated with the better jobs, it does not necessarily follow that a greater utilization of these search methods by blacks would result in a higher share of such jobs for qualified minority applicants. Without changes in discriminatory hiring practices, the chief result would be to further reduce the effectiveness rates of these methods for blacks. However, if the employment service secures better jobs for blacks than can be obtained through relatives and friends, it would be sound advice to blacks to replace or supplement the latter with the former. In any case, job search methods as such appear to be a less important influence than other forces in the distribution of job opportunities.

70/ Recruitment, Job Search and the United States Employment Service, R&D Monograph No. 43 (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration) 1976.

71/ Job Finding Survey, January 1973, op. cit., Table 1; Job Seeking Methods Used by American Workers, op. cit.

72/ Harvey J. Hilaski, op. cit.; David W. Stevens, Supplemental Labor Market Information as a Means to Increase the Effectiveness of Job-Search Activity (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, Institute for Research on Human Resources) August 1968.

HOW FIRST JOBS ARE FOUND

Sharp and persistent differences prevail among countries in the share of first jobs attributed to the official channels (table 1).[73] Among the countries covered, Japan, Great Britain, and Sweden are in the lead in the share of the public channels in teenage placements in first jobs. However, only in Japan did the official sources account for a majority of first jobs for teenage entrants. Japan's record for teenage entrants is not matched by its performance for new entrants aged 20 to 24, but it makes far more of the placements for these groups than for other youth groups or adults of all types.

The proportion of first jobs credited to the official methods would be higher if the records of these agencies were accepted instead of the statements of the young people. For example, the British Youth Employment Service (now Careers Service) usually has claimed a larger share of first job placements than the surveys of young people have indicated; it was 35 percent for 1965-68, according to the Y.E.S., but young people surveyed in 1966 reported only 21 percent.[74]

In Japan, the public employment service (PESO) usually has credited the official agencies with more placements than have the young people themselves. PESO also has counted as its own some placements which young people have attributed to the schools. Despite the uncertainty about the exact truth in each country, the differences among the countries revealed in table 1 remain significant.

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[73] National statistics on job-finding methods of new entrants are based largely on the recollections of the young people involved and may be collected years after the event. Admittedly, they do not reflect the wide disparities which may exist within a country; American national averages, for example, conceal significant but unsystematic differences from State to State and within States. Granting that it would be desirable to know more about the variations from place to place within a country, it still seems valid to compare the results of national sample surveys. More serious restrictions on cross-national comparisons arise from differences in the way individual surveys were conducted: the job-finding methods they designated; the sex, age, and educational groups canvassed; and the year when the first job was obtained. Most of the surveys cited in table 1 are confined to or deal largely with first full-time jobs for new entrants to the labor market. Each survey, except the Canadian, covers a national sample.

[74] The Work of the Youth Employment Service, 1965-68; Department of Employment, Central Youth Employment Executive (CYEE), (London: HMSO), 1968, app. B; Young School-leavers, Enquiry No. 1, Report of an enquiry carried out for the Schools Council by the Governmental Social Survey (London: HMSO), 1968, p. 134.

TABLE 1. METHOD USED IN FINDING THE FIRST JOB: PROPORTION USING OFFICIAL OR UNOFFICIAL METHODS, BY COUNTRY, YEAR OF SURVEY, AND TYPE OF METHOD

(Percent distribution)

Country	Year of survey	Percent using official methods			Percent using unofficial methods					
		Schools or teachers	Employment Service	Other	Family, relatives, friends	Approach to employer	Advertisement	Private employment agencies	Other or mean combination	No response
United States	1963	5.7	5.2	—	35.1	41.0	3.9	3.4	5.8	—
	1969	—	2.7	—	55.8	34.6	4.8	2.2	—	—
	1970-71	20.8	1.8	6.8 1/	23.6	34.2	3.5	3.0	6.2	—
	1970-71	13.8	1.1	3.0 1/	18.5	50.0	4.4	4.4	4.1	—
	1973	13.6	4.4	3.0 2/	28.8	31.6	1.5	5.2	5.9	—
Canada (Puland)	1961	13.0	10.0	—	29.0	35.0 3/	—	—	13.0 4/	1.0
France	1964	8.0	7.0	7.0 2/	47.0	14.0	14.0	—	3.0	—
	1973	6.0	4.0	—	48.0	22.0	10.0	—	10.0	—
Great Britain	1962-63	6.0	29.0	—	35.0	16.0	8.0	—	7.0	—
	1962-63	7.0	27.0	—	28.0	14.0	17.0	—	5.0	—
	1972	—	16.2	—	40.7	19.0	15.0	3.8	5.4	—
Japan	1962	46.4	10.3	—	18.9	5/	1.7	—	22.8	—
	1962	32.2	6.5	—	24.8	5/	3.4	—	33.1	—
	1965	50.3	8.2	—	14.3	5/	1.4	—	25.8	—
	1965	37.9	5.3	—	18.8	5/	4.4	—	33.5	—
Sweden	1963-64	—	15.8	—	23.5	33.3	13.3	—	12.7	1.4
	1967	—	20.3	—	18.8	34.9	15.9	—	10.2	—
	1972	—	22.0	—	32.0	23.0	15.0	—	6.0	3.0

1/ Civil Service and professional periodicals or organizations.
2/ Civil Service test or other formal examination.
3/ Includes advertisements in press.
4/ Includes those continuing full-time in jobs held while at school.
5/ Included in "other means or combinations."

SOURCES: United States: 1963; Vera C. Perella and Forrest A. Bogan, Out-of-School Youth, February 1963; U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Special Labor Report, No. 46 (Washington) 1964; 1969: Michael D. Ornstein, Entry into the American Labor Force, U.S. Department of Commerce, NTIS PB 211649, 1970-71: Vera C. Perella, "Employment of Recent College Graduates," Monthly Labor Review, February 1973: Job-Finding Survey, January 1973, Summary, Special Labor Force Report, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (Washington), August 1974. Canada: Oswald Hall and Bruce McFarlane, Transition from School to Work, Interdepartmental Skilled Manpower Training Research Committee. Report, No. 10 Ottawa, Canada: Department of Labour) December 1962. France: 1964: Jacques Baudot, Jean Michel Desmottes, and Claude Vimont, Conditions de vie etd' emploi des jeunes travailleurs, Cahier No. 50, Institut National d'etudes demographiques (INED). (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France) 1968; 1973: Confédération Generale du Travail (CGT), Centre Confédéral d'Études Economiques et Sociales, Les Jeunes Ouvriers (Paris: Lude), May 1974: Great Britain: 1962-63: London School of Economics, Medical Research Council, the National Survey of Health and Development, Young School-Leavers at Work and College, Final Report to the Social Science Research Council (London) May 1971; 1972: Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, Social Surveys Division, The General Household Survey: Introductory Report, 1972 (London: HMSO). Japan: Office of Prime Minister, Bureau of Statistics, Employment Status Survey (Tokyo), 1962, 1965. Sweden: 1963-64: National Labour Market Board, Hur etableras konktakten med arbetstillpällena? Meddelanden från Utredningsbyran, No. 7, 1965; 1967: National Labour Market Board (AMS), Arbetskraftsomsättningen och de utnyttjade informationskällorna, Meddelanden från Utredningsbyran No. 42 (1967); 1972: Central Statistical Bureau, Statistika Meddelanden, Elevundusökningar/Grundskolan U1974:8, Stockholm, 1974.

The division of first placements between educational institutions and public employment services follows no fixed pattern and seems unrelated to the total share of placements claimed by the official methods. If the data permitted clear distinctions between placements made, on the one hand, by teachers and professors acting in place of or in addition to, official school agencies and, on the other hand, by teachers or professors which are akin to those made by friends, the share of the official methods might be slightly reduced in the United States, Canada, France, and Great Britain.

Direct applications to employers were reported as a more important search method for new entrants than family and friends; yet table I, on the unofficial methods of finding jobs shows family and friends ahead of approaches to employers in all the French and British surveys and in some American and Swedish surveys, while Japanese data do not permit a statement on this point. An American survey of high school graduates of 1972 places direct applications to employers at the head of the list, with 52 percent citing it as against 46 percent naming friends and relatives.[75] The remaining unofficial methods of finding first jobs vary considerably in importance from country to country and are not defined identically or separated out in each survey. Young new entrants, especially males, find relatively few jobs though newspaper advertisements, and youth entering the labor market make so little use of private employment agencies that many surveys ignore the category or include it with another method.

Trends in the share of the official agencies in placements of new entrants can be reliably documented for few countries. According to records kept by Britain's Y.E.S. since World War II, the proportion of new school-leavers given leaving interviews has been fairly steady at about 85 percent of those leaving school at the minimum age. But the proportion whose first jobs were found through the Y.E.S. reached a peak of 48 percent in 1950-56, thereafter declined to about one-third in the period 1962-71, and was even lower in the period 1971-74. The most recent indications, however, are that the proportion has risen again.

Comparing the job-finding methods of new entrants with those of job changers of various ages, the inquiry of January 1973 showed relatively fewer new entrants finding jobs through the employment service than did young or prime age job changers, although the differences were small. However, school placement offices and jobs obtained through taking civil service tests played a much more important role for the new entrants than for the entire 16-to-24 year-old group (which included both new entrants and job changers.) Schools were insignificant for those 35 years old and over, but civil service tests accounted for the same proportion of jobs for those 25 to 35 years old as for new entrants. On balance, the public methods placed relatively more new entrants than 16-to-24 year-olds as a whole or than 25-to-44 year-olds. In regard to unofficial job-finding methods, new entrants differed from other groups chiefly in their lower rate of success in finding jobs through newspaper ads. 76/

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[75] Job Placement Services Provided by Public School Systems in the United States, 1976, FRSS Report No. 2 (Washington: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Educational Statistics) 1976, p. 8.

Saunders, tracing a national cohort of young men for three years, discovered that job-finding methods shifted toward the formal channels as the youth grew older, especially among whites. He also related positively the finding of jobs through formal channels to the level of occupational knowledge, participation in a training course, and the degree of cultural exposure at age 14. Another survey showed that those high school graduates who scored in the highest 30 percent on an occupational information test obtained jobs through the employment service more than four times as often as those who scored in the lowest 30 percent. 77/

WHY PUBLIC PLACEMENT RATES DIFFER

It is to be expected that the aims, functions, scale of effort, and form of organization of the public channels would affect the proportion of first full-time job placements achieved by the official sources. Countries' policies differ regarding the desired share of placements which public channels should achieve. Proponents of official placement methods seek powerful employment services which "do everything possible to ensure that the maximum number of employers and workers make use of their services." 78/ Implicitly, the goal appears to be at least a majority of all placements for the public channels.

76/ Job Finding Survey, January 1973, op. cit., Table 2; Jobseeking Methods used by American Workers, op. cit.; Recruitment, Job Search, and the United States Employment Service, op. cit.

77/ Saunders, op.cit.; L. Darcy et al., Manpower Economic and the Transition from School to Work: Impact on a Cohort of Ohio Secondary School Students (Fort Collins, Colorado: Colorado State University Center for Economic Education), February 1974, p. 108.

78/ The Public Employment Services and Management, Final Report, International Management Seminars 1965-1 (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Manpower and Social Affairs Directorate) 1966, p. 233.

Differences are visible among countries in regard to the division of official placement services between new entrants and others, the weight given to first versus subsequent placements of youth, the emphasis on designated groups of youth versus the entire youth population, and attitude toward serving employers versus serving the clients. Unintended interference with the placement function can result from pressures on a limited staff to perform additional duties, such as paying unemployment insurance or distributing other economic benefits, providing information or guidance, and offering remedial or employability services. But it also is possible that a deliberate downgrading of the importance of placements in favor or other labor market objectives will affect the proportion of public placements. An emphasis on provision of information and disregard for placement statistics has attended the institution of self-service public employment service activities, compulsory notification of vacancies, computerization, data banks, and other innovations. Recognition of the segmentation of labor markets and the barriers which prevent even the most efficient public channels from a making certain types of placements has reoriented the thinking about the importance of comprehensive services and high placement ratios.

A growing realization that situations of very tight or very slack labor markets are adverse to the effective public placement activity has been another influence. After an intensive study of the British youth employment situation in the early 1960s, Zeisel concluded that the placement service could have a significant effect in reducing both the amount and duration of unemployment in areas with a nearly balanced demand-supply picture, but there would be little effect in areas of very low or very high unemployment.79/ This is essentially the position taken recently by an OECD Working Party on the public employment service.80/

Differences in the way placement services are organized and administered play a role in the share of placements they achieve. To begin with, a decision must be reached on whether the organization which has provided occupational guidance to young people leaving school should also be responsible for their initial placement. The most common answer is "no," with guidance reserved to organizations based on the

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79/ Joseph S. Zeisel, "The Structure of Unemployment at Full Employment in Great Britain and the United States," Ph.D. dissertation, American University, 1968.

80/ Public Employment Services, Note by the Secretariat, MS/M/201/351 (1971) and MS/M/201/388 (February 1972), (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Manpower and Social Affairs Directorate).

schools and placement provided by a specialized employment and training agency. Exceptions are countries which subcontract some of the stipulated employment and training functions to the schools (Japan), leave the main responsibility for all transition functions to employment and training officials (West Germany), or establish a specialized agency to carry out all services (Great Britain). American solutions, varying by local school districts and individual schools, are diverse. In some places schools do all the occupational counseling and placement; in others the employment service, either stationed in schools or not, has full responsibility; in still others, both schools and employment service are engaged in uncoordinated counseling and placement; elsewhere a strict sharing of functions may be found; and finally some schools or districts show very little activity of any kind.

In general, high public placement rates for new entrants seem to be associated with a specialized youth section or division of the general employment service, as in Japan or Germany, or with a separate agency, as in Great Britain. To be sure, Sweden's all-age placement service gives evidence that a strong agency without a youth specialization can achieve relatively high placement shares. But Swedish youth reportedly showed dissatisfaction with the absence of special treatment and especially with the pure self-service system; youth sections and specialized officers have been established recently as youth unemployment has mounted. The particular combination of schools and employment service in Japan is effective because of national legislative provision and good cooperative relationships.

METHODS USED BY SUBGROUPS

Within a country, significant differences may appear in the job finding methods of subgroups of new entrants, distinguished by sex, age, level and type of education, place of residence, handicaps, or racial and ethnic background.

Sex

As the previous section indicated in discussing the effectiveness rates of search methods, sex differences in job-finding methods are likely to reflect the types of jobs being sought by new entrants and the capacity of the various channels to provide appropriate job leads, rather than outright discrimination by the placement agencies. In Japan, where public methods dominate, male-female differences in job-finding methods are not significant, except that school and college placement offices, the agencies of first and primary impact, are credited with relatively more first jobs for males than females, leaving the public employment service to serve females relatively better. Together, the Japanese public channels show no important sex differentials, nor do the unofficial methods.

Sweden's surveys in 1967 and 1972 indicate that young females obtained relatively more of their current jobs through the employment service and newspaper ads and fewer through approaches to employers and personal contacts than did comparable males.81/ Less consistency on sex differences is shown in the surveys for Great Britain and the United States, but the recent results for the American high school graduates of 1972 show more females than males finding jobs through the official sources.82/

Age and Educational Level

In most countries, new entrants are divided into younger (either under 20 or under 18 years) and older (either 20-to-24 years). Since such age divisions are related to educational levels, the two are considered jointly. If credence is accorded to the frequent declaration by officials that the youngest, least educated entrants require most assistance from the official sources, then placement statistics on first jobs should reflect this concern. On the basis of the available data, it can be said that practice conforms to intention in Japan and probably in Great Britain, while in the United States and France the objective appears not to have been implemented.

When Japanese data on new entrants are analyzed, whether by age or educational level, the two major official placement channels decline in importance as age and education of new entrants advances. The facts of the British case are less certain because national information is less comprehensive. Taking the under-18 group for which Y.E.S. then had responsibility, the 1968-71 report of that body indicated that, as age and education increased, the proportion of first placements claimed by the Y.E.S. declined from 38.2 to 24.9 percent. Beyond this educational level and through university, comparable national data have not been assembled, nor have the additional placements by teachers and professors be calculated.83/

81/ Sweden, National Labour Market Board (AMS), Arbetskraftsomsättningen och de utnyttjade informationskällorna, Meddelanden från Utredningsbyran, No. 42, 1967, Table 301; Sweden, Education Department, *Utbildning M.M. för 16-19-åringar (Education for 16-19 year olds)*. Rapport från gymnasiekolegruppen (Stockholm: DS U 1975: 18) p. 48.

82/ *National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972. Comparative Profiles One and One-Half Years After Graduation* (Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare) 1975, p. 8.

83/ *The Work of the Youth Employment Service, 1968-71*, Triennial Reports of the National Youth Employment Council, Department of Employment, Central Youth Employment Executive (CYEE), (London: HMSO) 1972, appendix B; W.W. Daniel, Business Education at 18: A Survey *of HND Business Studies*, Broadsheet 524 (London: Political and Economic Planning-PEP), February 1971, pp. 22, 78.

A major American survey in February 1963 encompassed young people aged 16 to 21 who were currently out of school and were not college graduates. Establishing three classes of new entrants according to educational level (less than four years of high school, four years of high school, and one to three years of college), the survey found that school placement services and personnel placed in their first full-time jobs relatively more of those who had completed a full course (8.9 percent) and were particularly unhelpful to those having the greatest labor market difficulty, young people with less than four years of high school (1.2 percent). Nor did the public employment service remedy this imbalance; the proportion whose first jobs came through the employment service rose sharply from 3.0 percent to 11.7 percent as the educational level advanced.84/

When information on those holding bachelors' and advanced degrees is added, it is clear that the placement assistance of educational institutions and instructors is greater at the higher educational level than at any other, giving this group the highest proportion of first jobs through official methods.85/

A French study in 1964 related the methods of job finding (over half of the youth sample were reporting on first jobs) to two educational categories: with and without academic or occupational diplomas. Those who had diplomas (43 percent) were much more likely than the rest to have obtained jobs through an educational institution or formal examination, but somewhat less likely to have been placed by an official agency. Dependence on parents, other relatives and friends, and direct application to employers were markedly more important for those without diplomas. A more recent inquiry conducted during 1973 among new entrants in two regions of limited economic opportunity for youth, Languedoc-Roussillon and Provence-Cote d'Azur, indicated that the higher the educational level, up to the first university degree, the greater the likelihood that first jobs were found through the public placement service. Overall, only 5 percent of the entire group found their jobs in this way, and the most common job-finding method at all educational levels was through friends and relatives. 86/

Type of Education

Another difference in public placement rates is associated with the type of education received. Young people in several countries who complete vocational or specialized courses are placed in first jobs by

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84/ Vera C. Perella and Forrest A. Bogan, Out-of-School Youth, February 1963, Part I, Special Labor Force Report No. 46 (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics) 1964, Table 35.

85/ Vera C. Perella, "Employment of Recent College Graduates," Monthly Labor Review, February 1973, Table 5; Anne M. Young, "Labor Market Experience of College Graduates," Monthly Labor Review, October 1974, Table 5.

86/ J. Baudot, et al., op.cit., Table 32; Le Monde (Paris) April 12, 1974.

official methods, especially by schools, to a greater extent than those who finish an academic course. Individual instructors are likely to be more significant placement sources for vocational graduates than for others.

From the American experience another educational distinction can be made--between those who seek work as an adjunct or part-time activity while attending school or college and those who enter the labor market full time. A January 1973 survey of job-finding methods indicated that the school placement office was considerably more helpful, but the employment service was slightly less useful to those seeking part-time jobs than to those who had left or finished school. The same conclusion can be drawn from the survey of 1972 high school graduates. 87/

Residence

Place of residence is an important but neglected factor in differential rates of first placements by the official methods. A division of the United States into four large regions showed a slightly higher share of public placements in the Western Region for high school graduates of 1972. Direct application to employers was a conspicuously more important method of job-finding in industrializing the North Central Region. 88/

Evidence on job-finding methods by place of residence was provided in a national French survey of 1964 which excluded both Paris and all places with fewer than 25,000 inhabitants. Size of community was related to the method of job finding. Using three size classes, the survey found that schools were most active and official placement agencies least prominent in the largest places (over 100,000 inhabitants). But these differences were small. More significant variation by size of community affected placements by parents (most important in the smallest communities) and placements by other relatives and friends (least important in the smallest communities).

Handicapped

A commitment to young people who are handicapped in the labor market by severe physical, mental, social, or behavioral disabilities exists in almost all of the industrialized countries. Hard data are not available on the job finding methods of this group, whose handicaps often are multiple. But from other information one may conclude that

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87/ National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972. Comparative Profiles One and One-Half Years after Graduation, op. cit., pp. 11, 14; Job Placement Services Provided by Public School Systems in the United States, 1976. FRSS Report No. 2, op. cit.

88/ National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972. op. cit., p. 34.

in most of these countries the official methods, including special schools and organizations, both public and voluntary, place a higher proportion of handicapped than of other school-leavers, especially when placement in sheltered employment is included.

Ease in placing the handicapped is closely related to economic circumstances. The Inner London area, a prosperous section, reported that a difficult employment situation in 1966-67 made it "necessary to canvas employers more widely for each boy and girl this year, but some can still be found who are willing to go out of their way to employ handicapped young people." But in the same period, a town in the sluggish North East, reporting "the lack of employment opportunities for young people in Sunderland--and in particular for the less academically gifted," notes that the handicapped young person is "in an infinitely worse position . . . he or she is faced with the prospects of being unemployed for considerable periods." [89]

Minority Status

In Great Britain and the United States, new entrants from minority groups tend to find a higher proportion of their first jobs through the official methods than do other new entrants. A British national survey in 1973 of unemployed West Indian youth 16 to 25 years old disclosed that 31 percent had found their first jobs through the Careers Service formerly (Y.E.S.), in contrast to 17 percent of white unemployed youth of the same age. However, both groups were reported to be alienated from the official service. [90]

Earlier, a House of Commons Select Committee had reported that minority-group school-leavers in many communities obtained a much larger share of their first jobs through the official methods than did other youngsters. In Huddersfield, a textile town, the official service placed over 85 percent of the new entrants of West Indian background in 1969, as well as 40 percent of the boys and 71 percent of the girls of Asian origins, all much higher rates than for British pupils. The lower rate for Asian boys was attributed to the large number who chose to join family businesses, particularly when they had language difficulties or were unable to satisfy their high job ambitions immediately. Careers officials repeatedly stated that much greater effort was required to place immigrant or minority than British school leavers. Numerous submissions had to be made to employers, even when jobs were plentiful, in order to obtain the same jobs for immigrants that were available to comparable British youngsters.[91]

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[89] Great Britain, Youth Employment Committee, Annual Reports, 1965-76, County Borough of Sunderland, Education Committee, p. 21.

[90] Pat White, "Unemployment and Homelessness," Careers Quarterly, No. 2, 1974, p. 16; Unemployment and Homelessness, Home Office, Community Relations Commission (London: HMSO) 1974.

Frequently mixing new entrants with young job changers, American studies indicate that black youth find relatively more of their jobs than whites do through the public channels, including special community organizations. The survey of 1972 high school graduates indicates that 9 and 11 percent respectively of Hispanic and black graduates found their jobs through the public employment service, against 6 percent of the white graduates. A smaller gap, but in the same direction, appeared in regard to school and college placement services, which placed relatively more minority than white graduates.[92] So far as the limited information permits, one may conclude that, where countries have adopted a policy of aiding minority groups, the placement share of the official methods has responded accordingly.

The slim evidence on subgroups discloses that unintended differences in the share of the official methods occur in some countries in regard to such categories as sex, size of community, and type of education. If industry and occupational placement data were tallied, further unintended differences might be uncovered. Perhaps the more significant finding is that in only a few countries do the official methods place a relatively high proportion of new entrants from the subgroups which require extra assistance--the younger entrants, the less well-educated, residents of areas with poor employment prospects, the handicapped, and racial and ethnic minorities facing discrimination. The official placement rate for the disadvantaged subgroups seems to be affected by the placement rate for all new entrants' first jobs and there are adverse effects from a separation of clients, as occurs in Britain, where school placements cream off the best candidates. [93]

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[91] The Problems of Coloured School-leavers, vols. 2, 3, Parliament, House of Commons, Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (London: HMSO), 1969, 1970; J. Gray "Comers-In," Careers Quarterly, Summer 1970, p. 24.

[92] Herbert Parnes, et al., Career Thresholds, A Longitudinal Study of the Educational and Labor Market Experience of Male Youth (Columbus: Center for Human Resource Research, The Ohio State University) vol. I, pp. 100-104; Paul Bullock, op.cit., pp. 74-83; Kirk R. Petshek, Negroes in the White-Collar Labor Market: Training, Employment, and Attitudes (Madison: Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education, University of Wisconsin) 1971, pp. 34-35, 85; Jeffry Piker, op.cit., pp. 130-139; Michael D. Ornstein and Pitt Rossi, op.cit. p. 84; Vera C. Perrella and Forrest A. Bogan, op.cit., Table A10; National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972 Comparative Profiles One and One-Half Years After Graduation, op.cit., p. 19.

[93] Careers Guidance in Inner London, 1964-67, Inner London Education Authority (London: Greater London Council) 1968, pp. 14-15.

While the provision of other services for the disadvantaged may require the establishment of separate agencies or divisions for disadvantaged youth placement appears to be best carried on without such a division. Thus, the United States, despite its greater concentration on disadvantaged youth than Japan, may have lower public placement rates for its disadvantaged youth, simply because Japan's overall placement rate for new entrants is so high. The high proportion of youth among the total placements by the public employment service in the United States (42 percent in 1974) is associated with a low overall penetration rate, not with a high share of all youth placements and especially not with a high share of the first full-time jobs of high school graduates or dropouts.[94]

PREARRANGED FIRST JOBS

It has been a commonplace assumption that new entrants, by definition, begin their search and find their first full-time jobs after they have left their educational institutions. But many young people settle on a first full-time job some weeks or months before the end of their education. All who successfully prearrange jobs avoid entrance unemployment.

Prearrangement of jobs occurs in three main ways. First, employers actively recruit young people while they are still completing their education. Representatives make visits and hold recruiting sessions at colleges and universities or submit specific job vacancies to schools. Many firms try to fill all of their posts months ahead. Second, young people may continue in jobs they held on a part-time basis while they attended school, college, or university and are thus able to avoid job search. Third, some new entrants actively canvass potential employers and line up their first jobs before school ends. It may not be accidental that two of the countries which have paid considerable attention to prearrangement, Japan and Great Britain, are also among the leaders in the proportion of new entrants placed through the public channels. The dimensions and policy implications of this aspect of job finding have been neglected.

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[94] Emil M. Aun, "Remodeling the Employment Service," Manpower, July 1972; Manpower, January 1975, p. 9; William Papier, Private and Public Employment Office Placements, 1959-71, Research Memo., No. 155 (Columbus: Ohio Bureau of Employment Services, May 1972); Stanley H. Ruttenberg and Jocelyn Gutchess, The Federal-State Employment Service: A Critique, Policy Studies in Employment and Welfare, No. 5 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press) 1970, pp. 76-78, 88-90; David W. Stevens, Assisted Job Search for the Insured Unemployed, Studies in Unemployment Insurance and Related Problems (Kalamazoo, Michigan: W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research) 1974, pp. 15-16, 97-98; Barry E. Stern, "Job Placement Assistance for High School Students," Youth Unemployment, Hearing before the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, September 9, 1976.

The statistical evidence is scanty on the new entrants who have jobs ready before they leave educational institutions, and there is considerable variation from country to country, at the different educational levels, and over the business cycle, in the way in which jobs are prearranged and in the role of the public placement channels in prearranging the jobs. In the base year study of American high school seniors of 1972, the national longitudinal survey conducted by the National Center for Education Statistics found that 65 percent of the boys and 39 percent of the girls who planned to work after graduation said they had new jobs lined up in advance or would continue in a job already held.95/ This type of evidence is less satisfactory than post-graduation inquiries. Two American surveys with information about recent recipients of baccalaureate and advanced degrees disclosed that more than half of those with jobs had prearranged their employment before terminating their studies and most had no entrance unemployment. Other studies showed almost as high proportion of prearrangement among those American junion colleges and high school graduates who took occupational courses.96/

Other countries have equalled or exceeded the American rate of prearrangement. In Japan, prearrangement has been so taken for granted that it is expected that the great majority of graduates at all levels will be placed before they leave school. In the 1950s and 1960s, from more than 60 percent to more than 90 percent of new entrants leaving each level of education had jobs by graduation each year. University graduates and youngsters of 15 completing lower secondary school showed the highest advance placement rates, followed by senior high school and junior college graduates. In 1967, 93 percent

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95/ U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, A Capsule Description of High School Seniors: Base Year Survey, (OE) 74-11116, Washington, 1974, question 33.

96/ Anne M. Young, op. cit., Table 4; Vera C. Perella, op. cit., Table 4; Gerald G. Somers, The Effectiveness of Vocational and Technical Programs, A National Follow-up Survey (Madison: Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education, University of Wisconsin) 1971, pp. 76-78, 226-28.

of university graduates and 82 percent of junior college graduates had prearranged jobs. 97/ In some western European countries (Great Britain, West Germany, Austria, Switzerland), prearrangement has been common for a large proportion of school-leavers who enter apprenticeships.

Breakdowns of prearranged jobs by type--employer recruitment, conversion of existing part-time or seasonal jobs, or lining-up in advance--are available only for the recent American degree recipients. Averaging the results of two surveys, it appears that the most common method has been to remain in jobs held while studying, followed closely by lining up jobs in advance. A much smaller proportion report that they have obtained their jobs without looking, which includes employer recruitment.98/

The conversion of jobs held during the final school years into first entry jobs seems to be more prevalent in the United States than in other countries, reflecting the more advanced age of leaving school, the less-demanding school schedule, the acceptability of an interrupted or part-time educational pattern, and the availability of part-time work. Surveys of minimum age school-leavers in Great Britain estimated that only 2.5 to 5 percent continue work with the same employer they served part-time before leaving school.99/ A local Canadian study found that 5 percent of school-leavers moved from part-time to full-time work, with the same employer, usually in unskilled or semiskilled jobs.100/

97/ Japan, Ministry of Education, Basic Guidelines for the Reform of Education, Report of the Central Council for Education, MEJ 80067 (Tokyo), 1972, p. 96; Kazuo Okochi, B. Karsh, and S.B. Levine, eds., Workers and Employers in Japan: The Japanese Employment Relations System (Princeton: Princeton University Press) 1974, p. 158; U.S. Department of Labor and Japan Ministry of Labor, Employment Policies of the United States and Japan (Washington: Report of the Joint United States--Japan Employment Study) 1969, p. 71.

98/ Anne M. Young, op.cit. Table 4; Vera C. Perella, op.cit., Table 4.

99/ Young School-leavers, Enquiry No. 1, Report of an Enquiry carried out for the Schools Council by the Government Social Survey (London: HMSO) 1968, p. 134; Thomas and Wetherell, op.cit., ch. 5; Joan Maizels, op.cit., 107; Michael P. Carter, Home, School and Work (New York: Macmillan) 1962, pp. 161, 164, 166.

100/ Oswald Hall and Bruce McFarlane, Transition from School to Work, Interdepartmental Skilled Manpower Training Research Committee, Report No. 10 (Ottawa, Canada: Department of Labour) December 1962, app. 3, Table 5.

The final method of prearrangement is the deliberate lining up of a new job during the last months of school. Already highly developed in some countries, this method offers the greatest opportunity for replication. Prearrangement in Japan has derived from a deliberate attempt to organize the youth labor market. Rapid technological change and expansion in the mass production industries created a vast demand for young, inexperienced workers. They were and are prized because their total wage payment, in the complicated Japanese system, is lower than that of older workers in the same jobs but with more years of seniority in the company. In the 1960s, the demand for young workers continued to grow, while demographic and educational trends diminished the sypply fresh from school, leading to pressure for public intervention.

Japan's simultaneous survey of the demand and supply situation of new school graduates and its attempt to reconcile them would be noteworthy even if the attempt occurred only after graduation. But for present purposes, the timing is of special interest because of its contribution to prearrangement and the minimization of entry unemployment.

By contrast, British prearrangement has been a highly individual matter and has been documented in a number of national and local surveys. A retrospective national sample survey, which gave data for each year of the period 1953-62, showed a distinct upward trend in the share of school-leavers who had jobs set in advance; the lowest proportion was for 1955 (25 percent) and the highest was for 1962 (45.2 percent). The rising trend was not affected by temporary increases in unemployment rates or the "bulge" of 15 year-olds in 1962.101/ Another national survey in England and Wales in February 1966 showed that 36.2 percent of 15 year-olds who were to leave school several months later already had jobs lined up.102/ The longitudinal study in England and Wales by Thomas and Wetherell found that half the sample of 15-to-16-year-old boys claimed to have jobs arranged in advance of leaving in 1968-69.103/ Local studies in the 1960s and 1970s under varying economic conditions have shown 40 to 50 percent of the early leavers to have prearranged jobs.104/

101/ Amelia L. Harris, Labour Mobility in Great Britain, 1953-1963, Government Social Survey 333 (London: HMSO), 1967, pp. 46-67.

102/ Young School-leavers, Enquiry No. 1, op.cit., p. 134.

103/ Roger Thomas and Diana Wetherell, Looking Forward to Work, Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (London: HMSO), 1974, p. 191; Thomas and Wetherell, Starting Work and After, op.cit., ch. 3.

104/ Michael P. Carter, Home, School and Work, op.cit., pp. 165, 170-74; Joan Maizels, op.cit., pp. 118, 141; Sheila Allen, "School-leavers and the Labour Market," London Educational Review, Autumn 1975 (vol. 4, No. 2/3), p. 68; A. Gordon and G.L. Williams, "Attitudes of Fifth-and Sixth-formers to School, Work, and Higher Education," 1977, unpub., p. 111.

According to Thomas and Wetherell, the boys who prearranged jobs tended to come from the more advantaged sector of the early school-leavers. In terms of academic ability, number of examinations taken, family background, attitudes toward employment, and teacher ratings on social maturity and cooperativeness, the boys who arranged jobs in advance ranked higher than those who did not. Attendance at the type of school where the vast majority of pupils expected to leave early was associated with a high level of early job arranging.

Boys who lived in areas of high demand for labor also tended to apply for and obtain relatively more jobs before leaving school than those whose areas had fewer vacancies in relation to the number of school-leavers; the percentage with jobs lined up in the 10 areas of the survey ranged from 66 to 20, with a national average of 50.

Nationally, the least able boys, as rated by their teachers, were most likely to have made no practical move at all towards finding a job and to hold job aims which were unrealistic in terms of their actual first jobs. Those who did not prearrange jobs lost out in two ways. They suffered more entry unemployment than the prearrangers, and they accepted first jobs with lower prestige and pay than the prearrangers obtained. Those who prearranged came closer to realizing the type of job they had aimed at than the nonarrangers.

The boys who prearranged their jobs in 1968-69 relied much less on the official placement service than did those who first looked for work after leaving school. While less than one-fourth of the boys who had no entry unemployment (largely but not wholly because of prearranged jobs) credited the official placement source with responsibility for leading them to their first jobs, two-fifths of the boys who had some unemployment acknowledged this source. Personal contacts were by far the most important source of the prearranged jobs and were a relatively more important job source for prearrangers than for those who waited to make the job search until after they left school.[105]

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[105] Thomas and Wetherell, op.cit.

VI. PLACEMENT OUTCOMES

Placement, more immediately and directly than the other transition services, extends a bridge from school to work. Particular concern about the placement of new entrants is based on the belief that the nature and level of the first full-time job and the type of firm entered are peculiarly significant for subsequent occupational achievement and prestige. There is also a negative aspect: if the first work experience is unrewarding, frustrating, boring, or dead-end, it is feared that some young people may reject the "system" and the official agencies.

The conviction that new entrants require special placement assistance has been strongest in countries where employers prefer to recruit inexperienced new school-leavers, where formal training programs or apprenticeship systems are offered by employers, or where a large proportion of the younger population leaves school at an early age. Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Austria, and Japan are among the leading exemplars. In the United States, on the other hand, the discovery in the 1960s that some young people were disadvantaged by background, schooling, ignorance of how and where to look for work, and discrimination in the labor market led to a singling out of particular youth groups for official employability and placement assistance, rather than to the development of comprehensive or effective placement services for all new entrants. This emphasis had been maintained, although recent measures have been directed more broadly to the youth population in its entirety.

Proponents of public placements assume that they will be superior to other job finding methods in shortening the duration of job search, filling employers' vacancies more promptly, and placing people in more productive and satisfying work than they would otherwise find. They believe that public placements will be more effective in securing jobs for the less employable, improving the geographic mobility of workers, extending the area of recruitment, reducing the net cost and effort of search, and generally benefiting the economy by higher national output and more efficient distribution of the labor force. Specifically, for youth entering their first jobs, advocates of the official services claim that these sources offer a wider and better choice of employment than would otherwise be available. 106/

Moreover, some argue that such a public service, whether all-age or for youth alone, need not constitute a financial burden to government. The cost of free public placement services may be offset by increased output and productivity, enlarged tax revenues, and reduced government expenditures on unemployment compensation, welfare, and social programs. 107/

106/ A. P. Thirwall, "Government Manpower Policies in Great Britain: Their Rationale and Benefits," *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, July 1972, pp. 174-8; Noah M. Meltz, *The Economic Role of Canada's Public Employment Service: Preliminary Study* (Toronto: University of Toronto) 1969; Jean Vincens and Derek Robinson, *Research into Labour Market Behavior* (Paris: OECD) 1974; Brian Showler, *On to a Comprehensive Employment Service,* Fabian Research Series 309 (London: Fabian Society) 1973; Charles C. Holt, "Manpower Proposals for Phase Three," *Brooking Paper on Economic Activity*, No. 3, 1971; David Lewin *et al*., *The Urban Labor Market: Institutions, Information, Linkage* (New York: Praeger) 1974, pp. 1-7; OECD, Manpower and Social Affairs Directorate, *The Public Employment Services and Management, Final Report, Supplement to the Final* Report, International Management Seminars 1965-1 (Paris: OECD) 1966, pp. 153-72; Great Britain, Department of Employment, *People and Jobs: A Modern Employment Service* (London: HMSO) 1971, p. 6; Great Britain, Inner London Education Authority, *Careers Guidance in Inner London*, 1964-67 (London: Greater London Council) 1968, pp. 14-15.

107/ Thirwall, *op*. *cit*., pp. 174-6.

Those whose endorsement of the official channels is more restrained believe that some of the informal channels are equally or more useful, and they welcome multiple methods of job search and competition among them. 108/ Some doubt the wisdom or need for a free public employment service. Others, especially in Great Britain, where the Youth Employment Service became particularly known for its placements in first and subsequent jobs, maintain that the underdevelopment of information and guidance services leads to a concentration on placement and that the latter could be much reduced if the earlier transition services were given the proper attention, time, and emphasis. 109/ By and large, however, a distinct placement function within the transition services is accepted, although the official placement channels are subject to keen competition from other job search methods.

If the public channels are superior to the unofficial channels, it might be expected that those who have found their first and early full-time jobs through the official agencies will have:

--less entry and turnover unemployment;

--a longer tenure in the early jobs;

--a more considered choice of first jobs;

--a better and wider choice, resulting in a higher quality of first and early jobs.

In addition, it might be anticipated that disadvantaged new entrants will receive more help from official than from other channels.

ENTRANCE UNEMPLOYMENT

The method of finding first and early jobs can provide only a partial explanation of the incidence, frequency and duration of entrance unemployment. It is, nevertheless, customary to expect the public placement agencies to demonstrate their efficiency by producing a shorter

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108/ Christina Fulop, Markets for Employment, Research Monograph No. 26 (London, Institute of Economic Affairs) 1971; Richard M. Jones, "A Market for Labour and the Office Staff Sector," British Journal of Industrial Relations, July 1972; Albert Rees, "Information Networks in Labor Markets," American Economic Review, May 1966; Stanley H. Ruttenberg and Jocelyn Gutchess, The Federal-State Employment Service: A Critique, Policy Studies in Employment and Welfare, No. 5 (Baltimore: the Johns Hopkin Press) 1970, pp. 80-85.

109/ Careers Quarterly, Autumn 1972, p. 35, and Summer 1973, p. 43.

period of unemployment than other job-finding methods, although many job search theorists and some analysts of employment service operations do not regard minimal entrance unemployment as necessarily desirable. 110/ On the other side are the recent findings about the harmful later effects of entrance unemployment. 111/

Relatively little is known about entrance unemployment and still less about the impact of placement methods either within or between countries. (The duration of unemployment of new entrants should not be confused with the division of youth unemployment into component parts where entrance unemployment is one form.) Examination of the unemployment of new entrants requires either a follow-up study of a cohort leaving a given state of education or a retrospective inquiry about the duration of entrance unemployment--and both methods must include those who had no unemployment at all.

There are aspects of the labor market behavior of new entrants which complicate interpretations of the duration of entrance unemployment within a country, as well as between countries. Some new entrants achieve brief entrance unemployment by not caring what kind of first job they accept; others are dilatory and half-hearted in their search. Some deliberately remain unemployed until they obtain a specific type and level of work, while others end their unemployment by accepting jobs they consider unsuitable and temporary, continuing a search for the desired jobs while employed.

Tables 2 and 3 present the results for four countries of five retrospective and four follow-up surveys, which show the duration of unemployment for new entrants. The most conspicuous difference among the countries is in the proportions having no entrance unemployment or having six months or more of search time. Prearrangement of jobs before the end of schooling accounts for most of those experiencing

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110/ David W. Stevens, Assisted Job Search for the Insured Unemployed, Studies in Unemployment Insurance and Related Problems (Kalamazoo Michigan: W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research) 1974, p. 12-14; Bertil Olsson, Swedish Employment Policies during the Seventies, Swedish Information Service T13, New York, September 1970, pp. 1-4; Thirwall, op. cit., p. 177.

111/ W. Stevenson, "The Relationship between Youth Employment and Future Employability and Earnings," a paper presented at a conference at the University of California at Los Angeles, February 1978, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Labor.

TABLE 2. DURATION OF ENTRY UNEMPLOYMENT FOR VARIOUS GROUPS OF AMERICAN YOUTH, BY AGE, EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND YEAR OF LABOR FORCE ENTRY

(Percent distribution)

Age, education level and year of labor force entry	No unemployment	Less than 5 weeks	5-14 weeks	15-26 weeks	Over 26 weeks	Other 1
Ages 16 to 24, all educational levels, 1972-73	——— 48.[illegible] ———		33.1	11.2	7.1	--
All ages, college graduates and beyond, 1972	52.4	17.4	19.7	7.1	3.4	--
Ages 18 to 34, college graduates and beyond, 1971	57.2	20.6	15.9	3.5	2.8	--
Ages 16 to 21, excluding college graduates, 1950-1963	27.8	29.4	10.1	4.1	2.9	25.5

1/ No job sought; still searching; or no answer

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Job Finding Survey, January 1973. Summary, Special Labor Force Report, Washington, August 1974; Anne W. Young, "Labor Market Experience of College Graduates," Monthly Labor Review, October 1974, Table 4; Vera C. Perella, "Employment of Recent College Graduates," Monthly Labor Review, February 1973, Table 4; Vera C. Perella and Fonest A. Bogan, "Out of School Youth, February 1963," Part I, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Special Labor Force Report No. 46 (Washington) 1964, Table B1.

TABLE 3. DURATION OF ENTRY UNEMPLOYMENT FOR VARIOUS GROUPS OF BRITISH, FRENCH, AND CANADIAN YOUTH, BY AGE, EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, AND YEAR OF LABOR FORCE ENTRY

(Percent distribution)

<table>
<tr><th>Country, age, educational level & year of entry</th><th>No unemployment</th><th>Less than one month</th><th>1-3 months</th><th>3-6 months</th><th>Over 6 months</th></tr>
<tr><td>Great Britain</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Ages 15-16, lower secondary school, 1968-69</td><td>71</td><td>18</td><td colspan="3">11</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ages 15 & over, all educational levels, 1953-62</td><td>37</td><td>48</td><td>8</td><td>2</td><td>4</td></tr>
<tr><td>France</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Ages 16-24, to upper secondary level, 1965-73</td><td>35 1/</td><td>28</td><td>23</td><td>7</td><td>7</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ages 15-24, to upper secondary level, 1955-64</td><td colspan="2">53</td><td>27</td><td>8</td><td>9</td></tr>
<tr><td>Canada</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Age 21, below college level, 1955-61</td><td colspan="2">89</td><td>6</td><td>1</td><td>3</td></tr>
</table>

1/ Includes unemployment of less than one week.

SOURCES: Great Britain: Roger Thomas and Diana Wetherell, *Starting Work and After*, Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (London: HMSO), forthcoming; Amelia L. Harris, *Labour Mobility in Great Britain 1953-63*, Government Social Survey 333 (London: HMSO) 1967, p. 46. France: Confédération Generale du Travail (CGT), Centre Confédéral d' Études Economiques et Sociales, *Les Jeunes Ouvriers* (Paris: Ludé) May 1974, p. 123; Jacques Baudot *et al.*, *Conditions de vie et d'emploi des jeunes travailleurs*, Cahier No. 50, Institut National d'etudes demographiques (INED), (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France) 1968, p. 40; Canada: Oswald Hall and Bruce McFarlane, *Transition from School to Work*, Interdepartmental Skilled Manpower Training Research Committee. Report No. 10 (Ottawa, Canada: Department of Labour) December 1962, Table 24.

"no unemployment." In an analysis of the school-to-work transition in the U.S., Stephenson found that 60 percent of blacks and 70 percent of whites in the Ohio State Longitudinal Survey of young men for 1966-71 had no entrance unemployment at all.[112] Cross-sectional data from 10 areas in a British study in 1968-69 of 15-to-16 year-old entrants show that the proportion of boys who had no entrance unemployment ranged from 47 to 88 percent, with a national average of 70 percent,[113] the range reflecting different demand conditions in the 10 areas.

At the other end of the scale, prolonged entrance unemployment is more prevalent among French than among British new entrants (table 3). French annual labor force surveys for 1968-72 indicate that the 15-to-19 year-old group took 2.7 to 3.4 months to find first jobs, while the 20-to-24 year-old group took 3.7 to 6.7 months on average.[114] A French longitudinal survey of young people born in 1955 found that the average amount of time between the end of studies and the begining of the first job was four months, including vacation periods.[115]

National studies show that the average duration of entrance unemployment varies with type and level of education. The situation which usually obtains in the United States and Canada, where the youth unemployment problem is most severe among dropouts or the least educated, is not necessarily found elsewhere. Variations are also found according to the type of job entered.

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[112] S. Stephenson, Jr., "The Transition from School to Work with Job Search Implications," a paper presented at a conference at the University of California at Los Angeles, February 1978, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Labor.

[113] Thomas and Wetherell, Starting Work and After, op. cit., ch. 3.

[114] R. Salais, "Frequences d' entrees et durees moyennes de chômage selon l' enquête emploi," Annales de l'INSEE, No. 16-17, 1974.

[115] F. Dossou, "Conditions et mecanismes d' insertion professionnelle des jeunes," Cahiers du centre d'études de l'emploi, No. 15, Paris, 1977, p. 213.

British survey data show that 16 percent of 15-to-16 year-old school leavers who found white collar jobs had over one month of entrance unemployment, compared with 10 percent of the boys who found the lowest level of manual jobs. Similarly, the boys who took more than one month to find their first jobs changed jobs less frequently in the first 18 months than did the boys who located jobs more quickly. A sample of young people who completed the Higher National Diploma in Business Studies had a longer average duration of entrance unemployment than did the 15-to-16 year-old boys. Recent data on university graduates indicates that they had a higher percent of unemployment six months after taking their degrees than did less-educated entrants. American data for a national sample of young people who went to work directly after completing various types of education demonstrate that the average duration of entrance unemployment was longest for those leaving the high school academic program. High school vocational graduates, junior college graduates, and those leaving post-high school vocational programs followed, in order of decreasing length of entrance unemployment.116/

A rare inquiry which examines both the method of obtaining a job and the duration of job search indicates no clear relationship between the two. The slightly poorer performance of the official methods may be attributable to a delay by job seekers in approaching official sources while they explore other search methods; in the case of jobs obtained through one official method, Civil Service tests, a longer-than-average wait for a job to materialize could be expected.117/

116/ Thomas and Wetherell, Starting Work and After, op. cit., ch. 3; W. W. Daniel, Business Education at 18+, A Survey of HND Business Studies, Broadsheet 524 (London: Political and Economic Planning—PEP), February 1971, pp. 21, 77; Great Britain, Department of Employment, Employment Prospects for the Highly Qualified, Manpower Papers No. 8 (London: HMSO), September 1973, pp. 6, 8; Gerald G. Somers, The Effectiveniess of Vocational and Technical Programs, A National Followup Survey (Madison: Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education) 1971, p. 169; Jeffry Piker, Entry into the Labor Force: A Survey of Literature on the Experience of Negro and White Youth (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan—Wayne State University Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations) 1968, pp. 144-7; S. Allen, op. cit., p. 68; Centre d'etudes et de recherches sur les qualifications, L'Observatoire National des entrées dans la vie active, Note d'information, No. 41, Paris, May 1977, Table 3; M. Tessaring, "Qualifikationsspezifische Arbeitslosigkeit in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," Mitteilungen aus der Arbeitsmarkt—und Berufsforschung, No. 2, 1977, pp. 229-251.

117/ Jobseeking Methods Used by American Workers, Bulletin 1886 (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics) 1975, Table G-3.

General skill in job seeking is another factor which affects the duration of unemployment, and it is a skill which apparently can be taught. In an experiment using a matched control group, a job-finding club, the first of several, has recently been established in an American town. The experimental group is instructed in such matters as preparing a resumé, interview behavior, personal appearance, flexibility in requirements, and using leads to jobs. Those who have been trained have taken two weeks on average to find jobs while the control group has taken eight weeks, and the experimental group also has obtained higher paying jobs. 118/

Another way of looking at entrance unemployment is as a part of all youth unemployment. A comparison of Swedish and American unemployment data for 1972, collected in very similar fashion in each country, indicates that entrance unemployment among youth was more important in the U.S. than in Sweden (see table 4). In Sweden, which had a lower overall unemployment rate (2.7 percent vs. 5.6 percent in the U.S.) and a lower share of teenagers in total unemployment (17.8 percent vs. 26.9 percent in the U.S.), unemployed youth were more likely than American unemployed youth to be job leavers, about as likely to be job losers, and less likely to be entrants or reentrants to the labor market. Working further with American data, Perry concluded that entrance unemployment was not unusually long for youthful new entrants as compared to entrants in other age groups. 119/

JOB TENURE

A British researcher has suggested that, if a case is to be made for the superiority of the public agencies, new entrants placed by the official methods should have a longer job tenure than others. 120/ The debatable assumption is made that all of the other factors associated with a propensity to job turnover will not overwhelm the effects of the method of finding the first job. Any assumption that places the highest value on job stability may be questioned--but, on the other

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118/ "Mission Employable," The New York Times, June 20, 1976, Magazine Section.

119/ George L. Perry, "Unemployment Flows in the U.S. Labor Market," Brookings Papers on Economic Activity, No. 2, 1972, pp. 271-5.

120/ Joan Maizels, Adolescent Needs and the Transition from School to Work (London: Athlone Press) 1970, pp. 271-5.

TABLE 4. YOUTH SHARE OF TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT, AND DISTRIBUTION OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT BY REASON, UNITED STATES AND SWEDEN, 1972

Country and age group	Unemployment rates percent	Youth share of total unemployment	Percent distribution of youth unemployment by reason				
			Total	New Entrants	Reentrants	Job Loser	Job Leavers
United States							
16 years and over	5.6	--	100.0	13.9	28.8	44.3	13.1
16-19 years	16.2	26.9	100.0	34.7	31.1	23.8	10.4
20-24 years	9.3	23.1	100.0	7.3	32.5	44.6	15.7
Sweden							
16 to 74 years	2.7	--	100.0	9.2	25.4	48.7	16.7
16-24 years	6.3	(38.3)	100.0	44.7 (1)	--	36.0	19.7
16-19 years	8.9	17.8	--	--	--	--	--
20-24 years	5.0	20.6	--	--	--	--	--

1/ Includes reentrants

SOURCES: United States: C. Gilroy, "Job Losers, Leavers, and Entrants: Traits and Trends," Monthly Labor Review, August 1973, Table 1.2; Manpower Report of the President, 1973; Table A-15; Sweden: National Labour Market Board, Arbetslöshetens Sammansättning (The Structure of Unemployment) Meddelanden från Utredningsenheten, No. 25, 1974, Table 1.3; Central Statistical Bureau, Statistical Report on the Labor Market, Sm/Am 1972: 72, Table 1.

hand, concern might rightly be felt about young people who have engaged in frequent job changing which produces no objective improvement in later labor market position.[121]

The subject of job tenure, especially among young workers, has been analyzed in many contexts.[122] Three local British studies show that those placed in first jobs by the Youth Employment Service had a briefer tenure in their first jobs than those who obtained jobs through other methods. Where schools also were singled out as a placement source, they achieved a superior record in job stability compared to the Y.E.S. placements, but not in comparison to all other channels taken together. One study found that girls, unlike boys, were more likely to remain in their first jobs if they had been placed by the Y.E.S.[123]

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[121] For discussions of the position of young job-changers versus others, see: Thomas and Wetherell, Starting Work and After, ch. 6; J.L. Baxter, "The Chronic Job Changer: A Study in Youth Employment," Social and Economic Administration, vol. 9, No. 3, p. 187ff; H.S. Parnes and A. I. Kohen, "Labor Market Experience of Noncollege Youth: A Longitudinal Analysis," in From School to Work: Improving the Transition (Washington: National Commission for Manpower Policy) 1976, pp 57-88; W. Vroman, "Worker Upgrading and the Business Cycle," Brookings Papers on Economic Activity, No. 1, 1977, pp. 229-252; A.I. Kohen et al., Career Thresholds, vol. 6 (Columbus, Ohio: Center for Human Resources Research) 1977, Ch. IV; N. Cherry, "Persistent Job Changing--Is It a Problem?" unpublished paper of Medical Research Council unit of London School of Economics.

[122] For reviews of the literature, see: Barrie O. Pettman, "Some Factors Influencing Labor Turnover: A Review of Research Literature," Industrial Relations (Great Britain), Autumn 1972, and A.I. Kohen, "Job Changing Behavior of Young Men in the Civilian Labor Market," a paper prepared for a Smithsonian Institution Conference on military manpower, Washington, 1977.

[123] Peter Willmott, Adolescent Boys of East London, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books) 1969, pp. 112-13; Joan Maizels, Adolescent Needs and the Transition from School to Work, pp. 118-21, 136-39, 158-60, 213, 309; Michael P. Carter, Home, School and Work (New York: Macmillan) 1962, pp. 164, 169.

Another British study, relating neither to new entrants nor to young people alone, concluded that those redundant workers (dismissed as a group for economic reasons) who found their new jobs through the employment service remained in these new jobs for a significantly shorter time and were less satisfied with them than those who used other job finding methods, although the placements by the employment service maintained skill levels more closely than the other methods and provided jobs which offered the same weekly take-home pay as in the preredundancy job. It appeared that many who were placed by the employment service regarded these new jobs merely as stop-gap solutions. On balance, the employment service performance was judged to be no better than that of other methods.124/

Somewhat different results were reported from France in a follow-up six months after official placement of unemployed youth, including some new entrants. The official agency was credited with providing a longer tenure in the job than did other job finding methods and also with a better match between jobs and applicants' desires. 125/

Table 5 suggests that French new entrants are more stable in jobs than British, although the latter usually have had more assistance from official placement services and have found a much higher proportion of their jobs through official sources. More recent French data for youth entering work in the 1970s indicates a continuing low rate of job changing.126/ An American follow-up study of the high school class of 1972 found that in October 1973 only 36.5 percent were still in the same job they had held one year earlier. In the year between October 1973 and October 1974, 47.2 percent of the group had two or more employers. 127/

124/ Graham L. Reid, "Job Search and the Effectiveness of Job Finding Methods," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, June 1972, and "The Role of the Employment Service in Redeployment," *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, July 1971.

125/ J. Rousselet and N. Dubrulle, "L'insertion au travail d'un échantillon de jeunes demandeurs d'emploi inscrits à l'Agence National pour l'Emploi," *Cahiers du centre d'etudes de l'emploi*, No. 2 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France) 1972, pp. 88-97.

126/ F. Dossou, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-222, 294, 317.

127/ *National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972* (Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Educational Statistics) 1976-77, Tabular Summary of the First Follow-up Questionnaire Data, Table 244, Tabular Summary of the Second Follow-up Questionnaire Data, Vol. I, Table 211.

TABLE 5. PROPORTION OF YOUNG PEOPLE HAVING MULTIPLE EMPLOYERS SINCE STARTING WORK

(Percent)

Age and sex	Great Britain (1963) 1/				France (1964)			
	Number of Employers				Number of Employers			
	1	2	3	4 or more	1	2	3	4 or more
15-19 years								
Male	56	20	11	13	62 2/	25 2/	7 2/	6 2/
Female	54	25	12	9	64 2/	27 2/	6 2/	3 2/
20-24 years								
Male	28	21	18	33	40 2/	33 2/	14 2/	13 2/
Female	30	24	21	25	47 2/	35 2/	11 2/	7 2/
15-24 years								
1964 3/	—	—	—	—	82	14	2	2
1969 4/	—	—	—	—	63	19	7	10

1/ Includes apprentices. Military service counted as change of job.

2/ Excludes apprentices.

3/ Apprentices only. Apprentices consitituted 19 percent of the French sample of 1964. Of the apprentices, 70 percent were males aged 15 to 19 years and 27 percent were females of the same age.

4/ Males and females aged 15 to 24 years at the time of the survey. Includes apprentices.

SOURCES: Amelia L. Harris, Labour Mobility in Great Britain, 1953-1963, Government Social Survey 333 (London HMSO) 1967, Table 57; Jacques Baudot et al., Conditions de vie et d'emploi des jeunes travailleurs, Cahier No. 50, Institut National d'études démographiques (INED) (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France) 1968, Tables 14 and 35; Les jeunes face à l'emploi, Liaisons Sociales, Documents No. 96/70, Problèmes Humains du Travail, No. 329, Supplement No. 5898 (Paris) August 1970.

Cross-sectional and longitudinal stock data on job tenure have been enriched recently by flow studies of job turnover in individual countries. All indicate that young people are more prone than older workers to frequent job quitting or discharge. 128/

International comparisons of employed persons who had more than one employer in the course of a year are available for a number of countries, subdivided by age groups (table 6). It is clear that in all countries young people have higher turnover rates than the total labor force, but the gap among the age groups is very small in Japan and less conspicuous in Australia than elsewhere. The belief of many Americans that their job turnover greatly exceeds that of other nations is not supported.

BETWEEN-JOBS UNEMPLOYMENT

Whether jobs obtained through the public placement channels result in less time between jobs for youth than other job-finding methods cannot be ascertained from existing studies. A relevant study was conducted in regard to British workers of all ages dismissed in a group because of economic difficulties in their firms. The length of time out of work was not significantly different for the 517

128/ e.g., Robert E. Hall, "Turnover in the Labor Force," Brookings Papers on Economic Activity, No. 3, 1972; George L. Perry, op. cit.; N. McIlveen and H. Sims, "The Flow Components of Unemployment in Canada," a paper presented at the First Canadian Regional Science Association Conference, Halifax, May 1977; R. Smith, "A Simulation Model of the Demographic Composition of Employment, Unemployment, and Labor Force Participation," in R. C. Ehrenberg, Research in Labor Economics, Vol. 1 (Greenwich Connecticut: JAI Press) 1977, pp. 259-304; R. Smith and J. E. Vanski, "The Volatility of the Teenage Labor Market: Labor Force Entry, Exit, and Unemployment Flows," a paper prepared for a conference at the University of California at Los Angeles, February 1978, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Labor.

TABLE 6. PERCENTAGE OF ALL EMPLOYED CHANGING EMPLOYERS AT LEAST ONCE DURING ONE YEAR, SELECTED COUNTRIES AND YEARS

Australia			France		Great Britain		Japan		Sweden				United States		
Age	1974	1976	Age	1973-4	Age	1972	Age	1968	Age	1970	1973	1975	Age	1961	1975
All	17.5	17.4	All	18.5	All	12.7	All	3.6	All	11.1	9.9	10.1	All	10.1	15.1
15-19	24.8	23.1	under 25	31.5	15-17	24.2	15-19	5.6	16-19	17.17 1/	24.1	19.8	18-19	23.1	29.9
20-24	28.0	282			18-24	25.5	20-24	7.5	20-24	17.5	18.4	21.5	20-24	22.0	27.1

1/ 14-19 years old.

SOURCES: Australia: Bureau of Statistics, *The Labour Force Experience, Reference 6.26*, 1975 and 1976; France: INSEE, *Revue Economie et Statistique*, No. 69, July-August 1975; *Great Britain:* Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, Social Survey Division, *the General Household Survey*: *Introductory Report*, (London: HMSO) 1972, Table 3.5; *Japan*, Office of the Prime Minister, Bureau of Statistics, *Employment Status Survey* (Tokyo) 1968, Tables 41, 46; *Sweden*: National Labour Market Board, *Arbetslöshetens Sammansättning (The Structure of Unemployment in 1970)*, Meddelanden från Utredningsbyran No. 4, 1972, Table 27; National Labour Market Board, *Den externa rörligheten pa arbetsmarknaden ar 1973 (External Mobility in the Labor Market in 1973)* Meddelanden från Utredningsenheten, No. 11, 1975, Table 2; National Labour Market Board Meddelanden från Utredningsenheten, 1977: 10, Table 2, *United States:* Gertrude Bancroft and Stuart Garfinkle, *Job Mobility in 1961*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Special Labor Force Report No. 35 (Washington) 1963, Table, Table H; *Work Experience of the Population in 1975*, Special Labor Force Report No. 192, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (Washington) 1976, Table 5.

who used other methods. However, among the 186 women in the sample, the small number who found their jobs through the employment service had a shorter median length of time out of work than did the remainder.[129]

The very assumption that unemployment between jobs is a normal or necessary phenomenon must be challenged, especially because most job theorists accept its inevitability and even desirability. Survey findings show that in many countries large proportions of job changers of all ages, and especially young workers, begin their job search while still employed and that a substantial share of seekers experience no unemployment between jobs.[130] Perhaps the most striking figure is Osterman's finding from the Ohio State National Longitudinal Survey of young men that most quitters obtained another job without unemployment and that 46.8 percent of layoffs among whites and 44.2 percent among blacks also resulted in immediate new employment.[131] Of course, it is true that young men who remained with the same employer experienced less unemployment than those who quit or were laid-off.[132]

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[129] Graham L. Reid, "Job Search and The Effectiveness of Job Finding Methods," *op. cit.*, Table 5, and "The Role of the Employment Service in Redeployment," *op. cit.*, pp. 172-3.

[130] J. Peter Matilla, "Job Quitting and Frictional Unemployment," *American Economic Review*, March 1974, and "Quit Behavior in the Labor Market," *Proceedings*, American Statistical Association, 1969, Economics and Statistics Section; Martin S. Feldstein, "The Economics of the New Unemployment," *The Public Interest*, Fall 1973; Amelia L. Harris, Labour Mobility in Great Britain 1953-1963, Government Social Survey (London: HMSO) 1967; *Jobseeking Methods Used by American Workers*, Bulletin 1886 (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics) 1975; *Work Experience of the Population in 1975*, Special Labor Force Report No. 192 (Washington: Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics; Carl Rosenfeld, "The Extent of Job Search by Employed Workers," *Monthly Labor Review*, March 1977, pp. 58-62; D. O. Parsons, "Quit Rates Over Time," *American Economic Review*, June 1973, pp. 390-401; *Work Experience of the Population in 1976*, Special Labor Force Report No. 201, table 6; J. Grasso, *Career Thresholds*, vol. 6, ch. V.

[131] P. Osterman, "Racial Differences in Male Youth Unemployment," a paper prepared for a conference at the University of California at Los Angeles, February 1978, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Labor.

[132] H. S. Parnes and A. I. Kohen, "Labor Market Experience of Noncollege Youth: A Longitudinal Analysis," *loc. cit.*, pp. 72-74.

Between-jobs unemployment is not directly proportionate to the job turnover rates of an age group. In most countries, teenagers have higher unemployment rates than young adults, but the 20 to 24 year-old group sometimes has higher turnover rates than the teenagers, as table 6 indicates for Great Britain, Japan and Australia. Among countries, there are substantial differences in the amount of youth unemployment between jobs, even when job turnover rates are similar.

CONSIDERED CHOICE

For young people, one of the anticipated benefits of a reliance on public placement channels is the attainment of more thoughtful job choices than are achieved through unofficial methods. The official agencies are held to be more likely to present alternative job vacancies for consideration and to give personal assistance and time to each youth. But, in fact, the official agencies often have too few openings to make multiple offers and seldom are staffed sufficiently to present new entrants with a wide selection of jobs or to give adequate information about them.

One of the prerequisites of a considered choice is the existence of several job offers at one time. Contrary to the assumptions of much of job search theory, empirical studies indicate that young people do not seek work in a systematic way and are most likely to accept the first job to come along, often because they believe that it is the only opportunity they will have. However, in a prosperous suburban area of Greater London, which was reported in the mid-1960s to have 50 vacancies for every school-leaver and where the Youth Employment Service made a large proportion of placements in first jobs, over half the boys and almost two thirds of the girls accepted the first job offered to them. This reaction was interpreted as an absence of well-considered choice.133/

133/ Wages and Labour Mobility (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) 1965, p. 139; Joan Maizels, Adolescent Needs and the Transition from School to Work, op. cit., pp. 117-8; Lloyd Reynolds, The Structure of Labor Markets (New York: Harper) 1951; S. Stephenson, Jr., "The Economics of Youth Job Search Behavior," Review of Economics and Statistics, February 1976, vol. LVIII, No. 1, p. 110; H. J. Becker, How Young People Find Career Entry Jobs: A Review of the Literature, Report No. 241 (Baltimore: Center for Social Organization of Schools, the Johns Hopkins University) November 1977, p. 23; "Jobseeking Methods Used by American Workers, op. cit., p. 49; W. W. Daniel, A National Survey of the Unemployed, Broadsheet 546 (London: PEP, The Social Science Institute) 1974, p. 74; Carl Rosenfeld, "Job Search of the Unemployed, May 1976," Monthly Labor Review, November 1977, p. 41.

On the other hand, the public placement agencies are in a better position than other search methods to widen the geographical horizons of young people, especially those who could obtain better jobs if they extended their daily commuting distance or moved away from home. However, it has not been demonstrated that the public agencies are more effective on the whole than other methods in enlarging and rationalizing youthful job choice.

QUALITY OF JOBS

When the assertion is made that official channels can obtain "better" first jobs than other job-finding methods, several conflicting definitions may be implied, since no universally-agreed-upon view of "better" jobs exists. Some young people rank potential earnings above everything else and identify the best job as the one which pays the most, even if it has no future and requires long hours. Others will opt for a lower-paying entry job, provided that it offers training, promotion possibilities, security, protection from competition, and fringe benefits. Neglecting both pay and security, some new entrants look primarily for other features--interesting and satisfying jobs, an attractive work setting, avoidance of monotony, a convenient daily trip to work, or short and predictable hours.

Most controlled surveys probably would find the public channels neither the worst nor the best job-finding method as regards earnings and other aspects of the new job. No conclusions can be drawn from studies which simply compare the occupational distribution of first jobs according to the method of job finding because such studies make no adjsutments for differences among new entrants according to their background, abilities, education, qualifications and aims. In such studies, the public channels usually earn a low rating because their clients are less qualified and have lower levels of educational attainment and aspiration than the whole group and the public channels, especially the employment service, receive a disproportionately large share of the low-paid, low-skill, small-firm job openings and none or a small share of the most desirable jobs. British studies which dealt with fairly uniform groups of displaced job seekers of all ages arrived at unfavorable conclusions about the employment service's performance even for less skilled workers.134/

134/ Graham L. Reid, "Job Search and the Effectiveness of Job Finding Mehtods," loc. cit., and "The Role of the Employment Service in Redeployment," loc. cit.; Hilda Kahn, Repercussions of Redundancy (London: Allen & Unwin) 1964; W. W. Daniel, Whatever Happened to the Workers at Woolwich? Broadsheet 537 (London: PEP) 1972; W. W. Daniel and Santosh Mokherjee, Strategies for Displaced Employers, Broadsheet 517 (London: PEP) 1970.

The few studies which have dealt with new entrants' job-finding methods while controlling for the other variables affecting the first job's qualities have used a variety of approaches. For a national sample of American males who entered working life in the 1940s and early 1950s, Ornstein found that use of a public agency, rather than family and friends, had a positive effect on both the job prestige and the starting wage. However, direct applications and private employment agencies produced even better results. 135/ Saunders reached much the same conclusion about the relative efficacy of various placement methods. 136/

A 1973 survey of American job seekers of all ages compared hourly earnings on newly-found jobs and on jobs held in 1971 or 1972, relating changes in earnings to the method of finding the job. Among the official methods, civil service tests, teachers or professors, and school placement offices yielded jobs with larger relative increases in pay than did the public employment service, which produced only a 7 percent average increase. against the overall average of 12 percent. 137/

PLACING DISADVANTAGED YOUTH

Some American studies examine separately the job-finding methods of black and white youth and arrive at conclusions about the utility of the various job-finding methods, judged by the duration of entrance unemployment and the quality of jobs (as measured by wage rates, earnings, or occupational prestige). Saunders, not separating out new entrants in his longitudinal sample, found that the only channel leading to notably higher-quality jobs for black young men was the public employment service and that school placements consistently were associated with signficantly lower rates of pay for blacks than all other methods. 138/

135/ Michael D. Ornstein, Entry into the American Labor Force, PB 211 649 (Springfield, Virginia: U.S. Department of Commerce, NTIS) 1971, pp. 86-88.

136/ David N. Saunders, "The Company Youth Keep: An Empirical Analysis of Job Finding Among Young Men 14-24," Ph.D. Dissertation, Graduate School of Social Work, Bryn Mawr College, School of Social Work, 1974, chs. 6, 7.

137/ Jobseeking Methods Used by American Workers, op. cit., Tables J-1, J-2.

138/ David N. Saunders, op. cit., pp. 327-28.

Not everyone agrees that the programs for the disadvantaged have resulted in better job placements. Recent evaluators of these programs have criticized the jobs offered to the disadvantaged by the official agencies as being no better, and in some cases worse, than those the job seekers could obtain through other methods.[139]

On the subject of unemployment experience, one American study commands attention, although it does not concern new entrants solely. Leigh and Rawlins found that there is a significant difference in the degree of use of formal search methods between white youth, on the one hand, and black or Spanish-speaking youth, on the other. Concluding that "increasing utilization of formal information networks fails to increase employment opportunities" and that there is a significantly positive relationship between unemployment and reliance on formal networks," Leigh and Rawlins speculated that "the lower unemployment rates of whites may be due in part to the greater likelihood that whites have relatives and friends who are able to pass along job vacancy information through informal channels." [140]

Swedish reports state that the employment service "acts predominantly in support of groups in a weaker position on the labour market," but offer no evidence on the outcomes of this support.[141]

British information suggests that some minority-group school-leavers may have obtained better or higher paying jobs through the official channels than they otherwise would have, especially during the 1960s, but confirmation is on an anecdotal rather than a statistical basis. For the majority of the various categories of disadvantaged new entrants, it may be doubted that the Careers Service provides a higher quality of job than can be obtained in other ways. Certainly the establishment of private agencies for blacks and hard-to-place job seekers indicates some failure of the official agencies.[142] Compared with French youth, however, the small proportion of British youth with long-duration entrance unemployment is partial evidence of the efficacy of the British Careers Service.

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[139] Peter B. Doeringer, Low-Income Labor Markets and Urban Manpower Programs: A Critical Assessment, Research and Development Findings, No. 12 (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration) 1972, pp. 24-28; Bennett Harrison, Education and Training in the Urban Ghetto (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press) 1972, pp. 147-50; Joe Miller and Louis A. Ferman, Welfare Careers and Low Wage Employment (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration) 1972, pp. 159-60.

[140] Duane E. Leigh and V. Lane Rawlins, "Racial Differentials in Male Unemployment Rates: Evidence from Low-Income Urban Areas," Review of Economics and Statistics, May 1974.

[141] Labour Market Policy, Budget Proposals for the Coming Fiscal Year, Stockholm, 1973-74, p. 24.

LABOR FORCE ALLOCATION

Recognizing that a concern about national economic goals is much stronger in some countries than in others and that the role of new entrants in the economy varies considerably, what can be said about the performance of the official methods in labor force allocation compared with other placement methods? And how compatible are national goals and the wishes of individuals?

Japan is probably the only country where the public placement of new entrants is sufficiently managed to qualify for examination. Other countries may have an effective overall employment and training policy of which placement is a constituent part, but nowhere else have the official agencies equalled the Japanese quantitative record on new entrants' placements. How do these placements relate the needs of the economy and of youth?

The close relationship between employers and the public employment service (PESO) has been described earlier. In the years of labor shortage, the rationing system operated by PESO kept the wage rates of new entrants from rising even more than they actually did relative to those of other age groups. In this sense, young workers' interests were subordinated to national aims and employers' interests.

High marks have been given to PESO for its supervision of the movement of young people from rural areas to distant cities, benefiting both employers and workers. When new entrants are directed to the firms which adhere to the lifetime employment system, young people are expected to remain with these companies. However, under conditions of labor shortage, many young workers found a chance to better their position by changing jobs, often by shifting to larger firms. This has been interpreted by the Japanese authorities as a failure of information, guidance, and placement policy, but it may equally well represent the natural effects of labor market imbalance which puts young workers at a premium.

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[142] New Society (London: New Science Publications), "The Black Bureau," August 19, 1971, and October 7, 1971, p. 653.

The most serious reason to question whether Japanese placement policy is entirely fair to all new entrants is its acceptance and reinforcement of employer preferences for the graduates of particular schools, colleges, and universities, so that the occupational future of a youngster is virtually set by the reputation of the earliest school attended with its subsequent access to the preferred schools at the next level of education.

There is insufficient evidence in most countries to determine whether public placement methods, if they were strong enough, could achieve a better allocation of new entrants than other placement methods, given defined national aims. Moreover, controversy continues over whether official agencies can give full scope to personal occupational development and at the same time meet national plans or needs. Some discern an irreconcilable conflict between the objective of efficiency for the economy and the welfare function in regard to clients.[143]

What is known currently about the performance of the public placement methods lends little support to the view that they are clearly superior to other job-finding methods for new entrants. There is considerable evidence that young people in many countries are not entirely satisfied with the quantity or quality of the official services.[144] Admittedly, the evidence is imperfect and there is a great potential for improving the official methods in most places. In certain cases--prearrangement for first jobs, aid to the disadvantaged and others subject to prolonged entrance unemployment, or organization of the youth labor market--the public placement channels may achieve better results than other methods. But no supporting evidence has been found regarding superiority with respect to entrance and turnover unemployment, job tenure, considered choice, and the quality of the first job. However, the job-finding process might be even more difficult for youth if the public channels did not exist.

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[143] D. O. Parsons, "Models of Labor Market Turnover: A Theoretical and Empirical Survey," in R. G. Ehrenberg, Research in Labor Economics, vol. 1 (Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press) 1977, pp. 216-7.

[144] B. Langdale, "Transition from School to Work," The Training Office, August 1971; Richard J. Noeth, John D. Roth, and Dale J. Prediger, "Student Career Development: Where Do We Stand?" Vocational Guidance Quarterly, March 1975; J. Rousselet and N. Dubrulle, op. cit.

To some advocates of public placement who have a fairly traditional and narrow view of the placement function, these unenthusiastic conclusions may be disturbing. But others who champion the employment service can accept these results because they do not expect a superior placement record, asking only that the official agencies assemble reliable and full labor market information, including data on vacancies and available workers. They also may cite the forces which are making placements, as such, less important than the other, non-placement activities of the official agencies. 145/ It can be argued also that, no matter how small a proportion of placements the public channels make, they have other functions, which cannot be performed by unofficial methods.

PUBLIC PLACEMENT SERVICES AS LABOR MARKET AGENCIES

Most young people will find their first jobs, whatever their quality or prospects for the future, in a reasonable period of time. But for the minority who have difficulties, the public placement channels, especially those which are responsible for executing labor market policy, have a key role, rarely performed by the unofficial methods. New entrants often have not narrowed to a realistic range their ideas about the level and types of jobs they seek. If they gave little thought to the subject while they experienced in-school information and counseling services, or if they never had these preparatory services, they may require backup information and guidance and a type of placement assistance which can only be obtained through official channels.

Recent developments have also shown that the public channels, unlike the unofficial methods, have a potential for offering support services and assuming an advocacy role in placing selected groups regarded as underprivileged. This activity, visible to some extent in almost every country, has reached major proportions in only a few. Serving as a buffer between the new entrants and the world of work, the placement agencies are best able to gauge the needs which are not fulfilled simply by placement efforts. They may not administer

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145/ Beatrice G. Reubens, "Employment Services: The Global View," Manpower, September 1975.

all of the programs, but they usually coordinate the effort. The programs which serve new entrants as well as other youth who have labor market difficulties can be classified under the following headings:

--intensive information and counseling services;

--remedial and supportive services;

--skill training programs;

--job creation in the private and public sectors;

--payment of financial benefits;

--activities with employers;

--special placement efforts.

Whether these support programs are considered part of an active labor market policy or merely as welfare measures, the public placement agencies which previously have established a good placement record are most likely to perform effectively in this area. And there is no doubt that these added dimensions of the public placement services funish a rationale for their operations even if they do not demonstrate superiority in job placements.

VII. INTRODUCTION TO WORK AND FOLLOW-UP

A poor induction to the first full-time job, or failure to provide induction programs at all, have been blamed for the abandonment of a chosen occupation, chronic vocational instability, worry about adequacy of performance, disruptive behavior, and other work adjustment problems among young people.

The employer's rationale for sponsoring induction programs springs from the desire to reduce labor turnover and recruitment costs and obtain a more committed or cooperative workforce, a better team, and better labor-management relations. The induction period is also said to provide an ideal opportunity for the company to project its image as an employer and to lay the foundations of discipline and safety standards before undesirable practices are picked up on the job.

However, if the jobs are hard, menial, dirty, low-paid, dead-end, or seasonal, a full description at the outset may crystallize potential dissatisfaction and result in earlier and greater turnover. A British survey established that some employers, particularly in retail sales, deliberately do not offer induction training and willingly accept high turnover as a way of life because their jobs require little training and high turnover rates can produce savings on vacation wages and fringe benefits. 146/

A MODEL INDUCTION PROGRAM

If one assembles the various suggestions for a satisfactory induction and orientation program for young people without regard to the implementation problems, the ingredients might be as follows:

1. Medical-psychological examinations and other tests to insure that proper initial job placement occurs. These may be supplementary to, or in place of, such examinations at the guidance and placement stages.

2. A preliminary program, plus a visit to the workplace before the job starts, which should include an introductory talk and a guided tour. Where suitable, parents may be invited as well.

146/ Teresa E. Keil, Induction of School-leavers into Work in Leicestershire, Interim Progress Report to Training Services Agency (Loughborough: Department of Social Sciences, Loughborough University), March 1975.

3. Information sessions as the job begins about the duties, responsibilities, rights, and rewards of the jobs; opportunities for training, education, and upgrading; safety regulations; company facilities; relationships with others; the total operations of the firm and its products; and relevant government programs. Young people should be paid for the time spent in this activity which may be coordinated with introductory on-the-job training. In some degree, induction programs offered by employers may be merely a remedial service, repeating some information which has already been given in school. But even in countries with well-developed information services in schools, pupils may pay scant attention or retain little of what they are told about taxes, social security, and other general matters which affect all employment.

4. Supervisors of young people chosen and trained for sympathetic understanding as well as ability to teach and inspect. Sensitive supervisors may be the single most important induction asset.

5. An in-firm counseling or welfare service to deal with entrants' personal as well as job problems. Smaller firms can designate a worker of suitable personality. Companies which maintain social welfare offices or departments usually make no age or experience distinctions among workers, although new entrants may receive special attention. The Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries are notable for this activity.

6. Establishment of probationary, part-time, and temporary employment so that young people can try out various types of jobs without penalty. In a sense, this proposal, particularly urged in France, is an admission that traditional induction programs are inadequate.

7. Serious attention to job redesign and enrichment, and job rotation without damage to promotion possibilities, in order to minimize tedium and alienation.

8. Trade union provision of induction services for new members and others, as well as trade union participation in company induction services. Establishment of internal representation of youth as a separate entity in trade unions is accepted in most West European countries. A problem in some countries is the relatively low rate of unionization among young workers and the inclination of some youth to reject trade unions as part of adult society.

9. Greater provision for participation by youth in management decisions which affect them. Company Works Councils may be established by law, as is required in some parts of Western Europe, and young workers should be adequately represented, voting on all policy issues, not only those relating to youth.

10. In addition to facilitating youth's adjustment to work, firms, working with other groups, should aid young people to adjust to the community and to solve their housing, leisure, and educational problems. France and Japan make particular efforts in this sphere, while exemplary firms, particularly in the Netherlands and Scandinavia, actually provide these services.

INDUCTION IN PRACTICE

When one turns from what should be done to what is done about the induction of young people, the picture is one of limited programs, in which large numbers of young people receive no induction services at all. There are also problems within the schools, firms, trade unions, communities, and the intermediary services, including defects of both conception and execution.

Such countries as Japan, Germany, and Great Britain, which eagerly recruit young workers and have a tradition of formal training by employers, pay most attention to the induction services. Yet within these countries, those young workers who are slated to receive training for skills are most likely to receive adequate induction services. The quantity and quality of induction activity tends to rise as the skill level of the jobs increases. Large enterprises with personnel departments and internal labor markets are most apt to offer induction programs. Small firms, however, may, in their informal way, provide the most comfortable introduction, and the attraction small firms hold for young school leavers with minimal academic achievement is partly due to the youths' belief that induction and personal relations will be easier than in a large firm.

British attention to the induction needs of young people was stimulated by the creation of the industrial training boards in the 1960s. Apart from what is done directly by firms, induction programs are offered by nonprofit organizations. For example, the Industrial Society and other organizations provide a variety of short residential and nonresidential programs for firms which pay the young workers' wages and the charges for the course. No recent appraisal of the activity of British trade unions is available, but an earlier study is quite critical of their performance. The study also faults some employer programs as irrelevant or tending to raise youth's promotional expectations too high, representing the fantasies of employers rather than reality.[147]

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[147] Michael P. Carter, Home, School and Work, pp. 157-8, 199.

A recent investigation in the county of Leicestershire among 40 firms in five industries indicated that 23 firms conducted formal induction programs, based in whole or in part on industrial training board suggestions. The scope of the induction programs varied considerably, with some providing only perfunctory and brief introductions to the appropriate staff and a discussion of a safety leaflet.148/

Japanese employers, especially the larger ones, offer induction services as part of their company training programs and the system of lifetime employment. In 1976-77, over 80 percent of all workers in training were new recruits receiving induction training. Employers' induction and follow-up efforts are reinforced by the activities of the public authorities to assist employers in all aspects of personnel management. At the request of employers, the Public Employment Service (PESO) and the Employment Promotion Projects Corporation offer guidance and advice on such matters as the assignment and transfer of workers. Small-scale and medium-sized enterprises are particularly designated for such assistance, which may even include advice and financial help toward the modernization of work operations or improvement of worker housing and welfare facilities. 149/

Some large American companies, which make a particular point of hiring disadvantaged youth, provide elaborate orientation programs lasting up to two weeks, with one week usually in the department. A member of the personnel department may be assigned to cover all new recruits in order to assess progress, uncover problems, and discover the need for changes in the treatment of the employee or in the job environment. 150/

EXTENT OF INDUCTION PROGRAMS

Most of the information about the extent of induction activities is from Great Britain where interest in induction services is high and criticism of existing practices is active. The most detailed analysis has come from the British National Survey of Health and Development, a longitudinal survey of young people born in one week of 1946. Information was collected on the induction-to-work experience of the 60 percent who left school in 1961-63. Of those still in their first job at 17, almost 20 percent could remember no induction, and another fifth had been shown around without being given any information about

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148/ Keil, *op. cit*.

149/ Manpower Policy in Japan, Reviews of Manpower and Social Policies (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) 1973, p. 51, *The Status of Vocational Training Within Enterprises* (Tokyo: Ministry of Labour, Vocational Training Bureau) 1977.

150/Herman Slotkin, "Five Company Programs," *New Generation*, Spring/Summer 1973.

the work of the firm. About one-half had been shown around and given information about the firm, but the entire experience usually took less than half a day. Only 10 percent of the boys and 18 percent of the girls recalled that their induction took more than one day. 151/

A survey of the Leeds area of England revealed that only one-fifth of employers offered an induction course, chiefly for those young people who were later to receive a lengthy period of formal training. Shorter courses, usually lasting one day, concentrated on a description of the firm, its products, particular departments, company policy, the people to whom trainees were responsible, trade union agreements, and safety regulations. Courses lasting longer than one day commonly included a tour of the firm and sometimes a short stay in each department. These tours might last from several weeks to as much as six months in engineering firms. 152/

In Thomas and Wetherell's longitudinal study of 15-to-16 year-old British school-leavers of 1968-69, a majority of the boys said that, prior to starting work, they had no idea of what their first workplace would be like, and still others had only a vague idea. Those who did have an impression acquired it through friends or relatives who worked there (14 percent), the job interview (13 percent), an earlier visit with the school (10 percent), a part-time job at the place (5 percent), or other methods. Most boys were introduced within the first week to the people they would work with and were helped to find their way and settle down. More of those in white-collar than in blue-collar jobs, and among blue-collar boys, more apprentices than others, were given induction help. During the first month of work about 15 percent of all boys and one-third of the white-collar job entrants were asked to join a trade union or other society. 153/

FOLLOW-UP

Only those young people who move from school into such structured settings as formal training programs, the next stage of education, or military service, can be assumed to have some adjustment services available to them in the new setting. For the remainder, follow-up by the transition services may be the chief source of assistance if difficulties develop.

151/ Young School-leavers at Work and College, A Research Report from the National Survey. Final Report to the Social Science Research Council (London: London School of Economics, Medical Research Council) May 1971 (Mimeo.), ch. 5.

152/ John Hayes, Employment Trends in the Leeds Area 1953-1963 (Leeds, England: Vocational Guidance Research Unit, University of Leeds) March 1966, p. 15.

153/ Thomas and Wetherell, op. cit., ch. 5.

As a service to young people newly entering the labor market, followup originally related to their entry to work, the sharp break with school life, adjustment difficulties in the workplace, a need to check safety hazards, the physical capacity for work tasks, and the expectation of some unemployment. After World War II, as schooling was prolonged and guidance services were increased, interest in the young worker waned and the attention to follow-up services weakened. Whatever neglect ordinary young workers suffered, however, most countries maintained a continuing commitment to the physically and mentally handicapped during and after school. Under the Dutch program, the same social workers who assist handicapped young people while they are at school also carry out follow-up. Another special case is the follow-up of apprentices by the specialists who make the original placements, as in Germany.

Some recent developments have given a renewed emphasis to follow-up activities. These developments include: recognition of the gaps and failures in information-guidance in school; the identification of disadvantaged youth; the boredom, frustration, and alienation of youth at work; high job turnover; higher unemployment in some countries in the 1970s; the contrast between the meager programs for youth who go to work early and the public financing of those who remain in education; recurrent or life-long education as an alternative pattern; and a growing belief that a flow of intermediary services is needed throughout life, not just as a "lump" upon entering the labor market. Follow-up services can include the full range of services offered to young people still in education. But instead of offering a table d'hôte menu, as in school, the follow-up services tend to allow the young worker to chose à la carte, according to specific needs for occupational and educational information, job placement, or referrals to training or education services. Remedial or supportive services may be provided and "second chance" opportunities may be offered, often in association with other agencies.

Sweden

Swedish provision for follow-up in the SYO program is illustrative of the most advanced thinking. Follow-up has been a function of the schools, particularly of the teacher-counselors, but with the full introduction of the SYO system in the comprehensive schools in 1974, a more intensive and ambitious program has been launched.

After school has ended, active follow-up work is to be conducted by the SYO consultant, with the assistance of the local employment office, the school welfare staff, and other experts. The designated group includes dropouts, stopouts, those who pursue no socially-acceptable activity after comprehensive schooling, and those who seem to have particular difficulty in realizing their educational and occupational aims.

About 30 percent of the 16-year-olds do not enter upper secondary school immediately and another 15 percent drop out soon after starting. A wide variety of measures has been proposed to attract these young people to further study or to some other useful activity which will better prepare them for the labor market. To aid this group further, another experimental group (called extended SYO) has been introduced in about 50 selected communities where a large assortment of local and social welfare agencies cooperate with the schools and local Labor Market Administration. The extended SYO program provides for active follow-up of those neither in school nor at work, whether or not they seek aid, to insure that they either have a job or are receiving education.

A bill introduced in February 1976 provides for compulsory follow-up of all young people for two years after they leave compulsory school, or up to age 18, starting with those who do not continue to upper secondary school and are not at work. The follow-up services are supposed to offer every youth alternatives involving education, training, or work. Another service, called intensified employment services for youth, has been launched experimentally in a number of municipalities by the Labor Market Administration. Aimed primarily at those under 20 who are not employed, the activities are directed by reinforced staffs at the employment service and special youth divisions which have been created in some employment service offices. Experimental findings have indicated that these intensified activities are useful. 154/

Japan

Japan's follow-up focus, unlike Sweden's, has not been on the disadvantaged minority who may have trouble in coping with work, but rather on the larger group of young workers who change jobs frequently, often without intervening unemployment. They do this to increase their earnings, move to more prestigious firms, and change to white-collar jobs. Such reactions by youth to economic opportunity, especially in the 1960s, have been disquieting to Japanese officials because of the conflict with the lifetime employment system, the seniority wage system, the stress on new entrants in employer recruitment policies and the national concern with increasing manufacturing output and exports.

Japanese concern about forestalling job changing by new entrants exists notwithstanding the fact that Japanese youth are less prone to job changing than the youth of other countries and youth turnover rates in Japan are no higher relative to adult rates than they are in other countries. The surveys which arouse Japanese concern involve new junior high school graduates who entered work in 1965. About one-fifth changed jobs within a year and over 50 percent were not in the first jobs three years later. However, if a similar study were undertaken in the 1970s, it might show greater job stability, reflecting less favorable economic conditions.

154/ Sweden, National Labour Market Board (AMS), Vocational Guidance Division, Unemployment among Young People in Sweden--Measures and Experience, Solna, 1977.

The measures used in Japan to follow-up young workers are an integral part of the intermediary services and often are an extension of induction services. More than other age groups in Japan and more than youth in other countries, high school graduates have changed their residence when they have taken their first jobs, often moving from rural areas or small towns to the major urban areas. Therefore, employment counseling offices have been established at railroad stations in big cities to provide information and guidance to new arrivals to encourage use of PESO facilities. In 1970 a law on Working Youth's Welfare was passed, providing improvements in vocational guidance, encouragement of vocational training, and establishment of welfare centers. Such centers have been established all over the country and a comprehensive center in Tokyo offers counseling, physical training, cultural facilities, and accommodation.

Within the employment service offices in the large urban areas, a special section called the Young Workers Center is maintained with special counselors who help new school graduates to adapt to first jobs. New school graduates are followed up actively by retired school and PESO officers who travel around the country and "methodically check the job satisfaction of new school placements and, if necessary, . . . find discreet ways to help the young worker on the job or (as a secondary solution if needs be) . . . help him move to another job." 155/ Employers are also encouraged to utilize young workers well.

Great Britain

The Employment and Training Act of 1973 removed the obligation of the local Careers Service office to follow-up school leavers, took away its responsibility for payment of unemployment and supplementary benefits to those under 18 (an activity which formerly brought unemployed young people to local offices), and left young people free to choose between the Careers Service and the adult employment service after they have entered their first job. In fact, some school-leavers now choose to use the adult service before they have worked at all. Under the 1973 law, the traditional follow-up functions were to be reappraised in each local careers office.

In the quarter century, 1948-73, the British Youth Employment Service (now the Careers Service) developed three main types of follow-up services. The first was a blanket provision for a Review of Progress of young workers until they reached 18. In these years when a majority entered work at 15, the rationale for offering such services to all young school-leavers rested on the large public investment in those who continued their education and the lack of any alternative agency to encourage young workers and provide them with an opportunity to develop fully.

155/ Manpower Policy in Japan, op.cit., p. 52.

The Review of Progress activity had two main aspects. Some months after young people had left school, they were invited to attend a meeting or social event at the school or to come to the office for an interview. A letter and brief questionnaire about progress at work usually accompanied the invitation or were sent separately if no meeting was held. Those who did not attend the meeting were urged to fill out the questionnaires, which were mailed back more frequently when return postage was included.

However, the young people concerned often did not recall this contact by the Youth Employment Service. Over three-fourths of a national sample of 15-to-16-year-old boy leavers in 1968-69 said that they had never received a letter or otherwise heard from the Y.E.S. in the first six to eight months after leaving school. This period out of school might have been too brief for the first Y.E.S. follow-up contact in many areas. Of the small remainder who acknowledged that the Y.E.S. had contacted them, four-fifths cited the official follow-up survey as the occasion, while the rest mentioned the receipt of brochures, issuance of their National Insurance cards, or notification of job interviews. 156/

A second aspect of Review of Progress was the "betterment file" in the local office, intended to assist job changing by those who wished to make job progress. Internal critics claimed that insufficient attention was given to this activity, particularly by the careers officers, who tended to leave such tasks to their employment assistants. An additional consequence was that jobs took precedence over the provision of information about education and training opportunities. Moreover, young people were required to approach the Y.E.O. themselves for this service, leaving unserved many who might have benefited.

The second major follow-up activity of the British Youth Employment Service was its busy placement service for repeated job losers and job changers under 18. Indeed, much of the reputation of the Y.E.S. for having second-rate jobs arose from its subsequent placements rather than its first placements. But it was also true that, whether or not the Y.E.S. made the placements, youth who changed jobs frequently tended to move downward occupationally and to be heavily concentrated in unskilled and semiskilled jobs. The heavy volume of activity on behalf of a relatively small group, consuming more staff time than did placement in first jobs, usually was left to employment assistants or clerks. Because of the importance of these repeat placements in the total picture of Y.E.S. activities, some analysts had recommended that placement should receive even more staff time and personal attention from career officers. 157/

156/ Thomas and Wetherell, op.cit., ch. 4.

157/ Joan Maizels, "The Entry of School-leavers into Employment," British Journal of Industrial Relations, March 1965, p. 82; Kenneth Roberts, "The Changing Functions of the Youth Employment Service," Social and Economic Administration (Great Britain), July 1969, p. 172.

The dispute over whether the Y.E.S. was giving too little or too much time to repeat placements of young people was eclipsed by the finding by a Community Relations Commission that a substantial proportion of the unemployed people under 25 had not registered with either the Careers Office or the Employment Exchange. In a sharp reversal of earlier complaints that the Y.E.S. catered heavily, perhaps too heavily, to problem job seekers, the objection now was lack of use by all types of youth. 158/

Proposals were made that careers officers should offer outreach services to all minority youth and cooperate with the Youth Service, parents, and community workers in order to build confidence in the services. However, the underlying situation is an insufficiency of desirable jobs and the persistence of employer obstacles to effective official services for this group.159/

The third major type of British follow-up was on behalf of young people found to be "at risk" or "at odds" with society and hence likely to be in difficulties with the authorities both in their school years and afterwards. Identifying those who failed to settle down in employment by individual rather than ethnic or group characteristics, the 1970 report At Odds specified young people who, having had an "unhelpful home or social background," exhibited one or more of the following characteristics: a reluctance to work, frequent job changing without adequate reason, behavior and attitudes which made employers reluctant to have them, and delinquency. The interest in young people "at risk" produced new approaches to aftercare, including outreach services, supportive services, remedial or second chance programs, use of agencies not associated with schools, and training and job creation programs. 160/

158/The Careers Service and Black Youth, Community Relations Commission, Youth and Community Division (London: The Commission) December 5, 1974; Unemployment and Homelessness, op.cit.; Pat White, op.cit.; Catherine Avent, "Black Youth and their Careers." ILEA Contact, No. 32, 1975.

159/ David J. Smith, Racial Disadvantage in Employment, Broadsheet, No. 544 (London: PEP The Social Science Institute) 1974, pp. 44-45; David W. Stevens, Supplemental Labor Market Indormation as a Means to Increase the Effectiveness of Job-Search Activity (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, Institute for Research on Human Resources) August 1968, pp. 152-163.

160/ At Odds: The Employment Problems of Disadvantaged Young People, Department of Employment, National Youth Employment Council (London: HMSO) October 1970; Careers Education in the 1970s, Working Paper, No. 40, Schools Council (London: Evans/Methuen Educational) 1972, pp. 22-24.

VIII. REFERENCES

NOTE

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